SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII: EDITORIAL POLICY

Social Process in Hawaii is a journal published annually by the University of Hawaii at Manoa Department of Sociology with the objective of disseminating to scholars, students, and the community the results of outstanding social science research on the people and institutions of Hawaii.

Since its inception, the Department of Sociology has taken the view that the Hawaiian community offers a rich and varied opportunity for observing the interplay of social processes which maintain stability and provoke social change. It is our hope that the journal might stimulate social research in Hawaii, provide materials for instruction of students, and enhance the understanding of the community among those who live and work here.

Contributions are encouraged from University faculty, graduate and undergraduate students in Sociology and other disciplines as well as other knowledgeable persons in the community. Preference will be given to research based upon sound methodologies and systematic evidence. Articles should employ a mid-level of writing and minimize technical terms. The presentation of complex statistical techniques should be kept to a minimum, and where used, should be accompanied by a clear textual description of the technique and its results.

Manuscripts are evaluated by the editors and other referees. Deadline for submission is October 1 and authors will be notified of editorial decisions no later than January 1 for inclusion in the issue published that academic year. Editors may occasionally solicit manuscripts, but in general most selections will be from among unsolicited manuscripts.

Authors interested in submitting manuscripts for consideration should send three copies to SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, Department of Sociology, Porteus Hall 247, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. The following guidelines should be observed in preparation of the manuscript:

1) Due to space limitations, short articles are preferred. Manuscripts should not exceed 15 double-spaced pages. Photographs, charts and graphs are welcome.
2) Preparation of copy and the format for references should follow the guidelines of the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. In the case of unusual problems consult the Editor.
3) Manuscripts submitted to the journal should be of final draft quality; the editor reserves the right to make minor editorial changes.
4) The University of Hawaii guidelines for allocating credit for research and writing should be observed.

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SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, VOLUME 28, 1980-1981

FOREWORD

Michael G. Weinstein

The response to volume 27 of *Social Process in Hawaii*, some fifteen years after volume 26, was gratifying in that we learned there is still an appreciative audience for academic research on social issues in Hawaii and for commentary on those issues from a Hawaiian perspective. The response has also made us more self-conscious about our responsibilities to that audience, to include in our journal a wide-range of basic materials, to encourage contributions from a variety of stances and experiences, and to provide suggestions of further reading for background, context and next steps.

Beyond the editorial policy printed on the inside front cover, we found ourselves reminding contributors that our audience included "scholars, students, and the community," and encouraging them to include statements of methodology written in lay terms and to provide references to the basic literature in their subject area. We are aware that many of our readers are students in high schools and colleges around the State, who use the journal as a research source as well as a supplementary text in various social science courses. Thus, we hope that most of our articles are also all-around good examples of how to do social science.

We are pleased that volume 28 fulfills many of these hopes. Beyond our sociological core, contributors represent the fields of business management and decision sciences, history and women's studies, architecture and urban planning, psychology and communication, and Japanese literature. And even within the discipline of sociology our contributions reflect a range of methodologies, from surveys and documentary content-analysis to participant-observation and reflexive analysis. We can also note that while the majority of our contributors are professional academics, a couple are "retired" from teaching, and the Annual Hormann Prize Award in Sociology has provided us with excellent student contributions.

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Building on our usual call for papers, we would also invite readers to respond to this issue, to let us know the kinds of articles you find useful and edifying. Another way to keep in touch is to write us and place a standing order for future issues, to be sent postage-paid immediately on publication. We are happy to announce that the recently-organized Hawaii Sociological Association has decided to include a subscription to *Social Process in Hawaii* as part of its membership fees; the first set of officers of the State Association, elected at its May 1980 meeting, are President Helen Choy, Vice-President Leonard Moffitt, and Secretary-Treasurer Professor Tamme Wittermans.

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Some practical matters: we feel the need to apologize for the lateness of this issue. Although we intend to achieve the editorial policy of an annual issue, we are still struggling with the exigencies of full-time academic schedules. Our executive editor, Professor Kiyoshi Ikeda is the new Chairperson of the Department of Sociology, as well as the Principal Investigator for the Department's Training Program for Research on Institutional Racism, funded by the National Institute of Mental Health. He has focued on the matter of the budget for this journal, continually pointing out our need to pay advance publication costs as well as to subsidize the final price of issues in this era of high inflation. Initial funds for volumes 27 and 28 came from monies carefully saved from the sales of past issues, by Professor Bernhard Hormann and others. We do not have State funding as we are not an official University publication, and although the University Press of Hawaii handles printing and distribution of the journal, we remain a Department of Sociology publication. Professor Ikeda is open to suggestions, from selling sweetbread and huli-huli chicken, to the solicitation of alumni and friends of the Department.

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An upcoming volume, perhaps the 1982 issue to help commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the University of Hawaii, is currently being edited by Emeriti Professors Bernhard Hormann and Andrew Lind. This is an issue to be put together under the theme of ethnic groups in Hawaii, and will be made up of articles originally written for the Encyclopedia of Hawaii, a Bicentennial Project that was not completed.

HAWAII STATE PRISON: INTERACTIONS WITHIN A CLOSED AND HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT*

Patricia D. Huneke

Prisons are public social organizations which reflect the values of the communities in which they exist. Sometimes those values are ambivalent about the functions of prisons as punishment, rehabilitation, or merely incarceration of those members who were found to break the laws of the community. However, recent research by Zimbardo (1971?), more fully discussed below, indicates that prisons are total institutions (see Goffman, 1961) with values derived from an organizational social structure which powerfully and rapidly affects everyone involved, whether inmates, guards, or staff. Because of this, all prisons, including prisons in Hawaii, are more like each other in many respects than like the communities in which they exist. The following is a case study of Hawaii State Prison (HSP). The total institutional aspects of HSP can be seen as reflecting the general patterns of the prison experience documented in books by Toch (1977) and Berry (1972). At the same time, one may view HSP as unique since it also reflects Hawaii's unique culture.

Hawaii State Prison is located a few miles from the heart of Honolulu and is Hawaii's major correctional facility. However, not too many people pay much attention to it. As one inmate stated:

> As men abhor the unknown, they shun the prison. It is, they tell themselves, none of their business, no concern of the ordinary citizen, who need never go there. (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979d)

Escapes from the prison or murders within make the news, but most prison news concerns overcrowding coupled with requests for more funds to build more buildings for the burgeoning prison population.

This report is a study of certain aspects of life within HSP, a prison which has been called "totally

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*1980 Hormann Prize Award in Sociology.

obsolete by any measurement criteria" (State of Hawaii, 1972:68). Specifically, it deals with the interactions which exert major influence on the inmates who live twenty-four hours a day within its walls. *The Correctional Master Plan* (State of Hawaii, 1972:52) for Hawaii states that "facilities have the potential for positive or negative impact to the degree that they serve to perpetuate activity patterns." The question addressed by this study is what activity patterns are perpetuated within the prison walls, with special emphasis on three interactional areas: interaction between the public and the inmates, interaction among the inmates themselves, and interaction between the guards and the inmates.

Method of Study

As a community volunteer, I have had the opportunity to observe and discuss some aspects of life within HSP. I first entered the prison in October 1978. My observations began then and have been continuous for sixteen months. My job as volunteer counselor involves meeting with certain inmates in one-to-one conversations once-a-week. After the first eight months, I also became a volunteer tutor and was in the prison two afternoons a week instead of one. As a sociology major I defined my research role as a participant-observer and I found the recommendations of Schatzman and Strauss (1973) useful. Wax's (1971) reflections on her studies of the Japanese American Relocation Centers were especially valuable because of the many similarities I found between her experiences and insights and my own in HSP.

I did not enter the prison without any knowledge of prisons in general. Although I had never been in a prison, I had read many books written about prisons and prisoners, from the viewpoint of the administration and the prisoners themselves.[1] I have also maintained a long-term relationship through correspondence with a prisoner in another state. In other words, I did have certain expectations. Although the physical experience of HSP was totally new to me, some mechanical aspects of prison life as well as certain attitudes I could expect to find were not surprising.

My major contact has been with counselors, guards, and inmates, although I have had brief contact with other HSP personnel. Over the course of the months, however, my contact with many inmates increased. One of the advantages I have found with long-term and

regular contact is that I have become more accepted with the passage of time. During the first two to three months, most inmates paid little attention to me. They then began to make tenative contacts with me, usually first asking "What are you?" (meaning who are you and what is your job). As time passed, I was able to converse with many inmates, and as a higher level of trust developed, the information passed to me increased in depth.[2]

I have attended one monthly meeting of administration, staff, and inmates, and two sessions of the "Stay Straight Program." "Stay Straight" is a program organized and run by the inmates in an effort to divert juvenile delinquents away from further crime.

The object of my study was to become familiar with certain aspects of prison life and to study the effects these have on the group of people who must live under their influence. Unable to go from person to person asking specific questions, I usually interacted with the people I came in contact with while I was working. By so doing, I hoped to receive information that was important to them as members of the prison community and not just information about the issues I thought important. However, if someone discussed something I had previously observed or heard, I would ask specific questions. In this way, I substantiated previous information. I conducted some interviews using planned questions, but this was not my usual method. I listened and observed each time I was in the prison and as soon as possible after leaving the facility, I wrote notes on my observations.

I did not tell everyone I was doing research on prison life; but I did not make it a secret either. I did some longer interviews with people who knew of my research efforts and received valuable information in this manner. Some people volunteered information because they had "heard" that I was doing research on prison life. It did not matter who spoke to me; I promised complete anonymity to everyone. Because of this, I have found it necessary to alter some of my data, but such alterations are only in specific details and do not change the effects or meanings of my observations.

Other information I received was "touchy." "Touchy" in these instances means that it is possible for someone involved in the prison to be physically hurt or officially questioned if such information is repeated and linked to any specific person. In writing this report, "touchy" information was used with great care

and in some instances not at all. Furthermore, confidential information was not used. However, all such information became part of my general knowledge and had an effect on what I wrote. For instance, some confidential information substantiated other information I had received; although I cannot cite the confidential information, I use the substantiated information with more confidence.

My only other major source of information about HSP has been the local daily newspaper. Because most community members do not go into the prison and have no contact with prisoners, it is through the news media that they learn anything about the prison.

In some respects, my knowledge about HSP is as limited as the public's. It is limited inasmuch as my contacts were limited within the prison. The time actually spent within the prison limited the scope of this study as did my position of volunteer. One prisoner once stated that:

> No one not a part of its [prison] harsh life can really know what goes on behind the walls. No one within, not the most alert warden, not the best informed inmate with his avid ear to the grapevine, can know with exactitude everything that happens in its shadowed society. (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979d)

It should be remembered that this study developed from my particular point of view. It is not meant to be all encompassing nor some final word. It is a study from a different point of view than the usual insider and can be of value because of this. I am neither a naive community member nor a daily participant in prison life. I am a mixture of both. As such, I have attempted to accurately relate those things I have observed and heard.

One problem I encountered was that of becoming partisan. I am partisan toward the inmates since I tend to see things sympathetically from their point of view. This becomes a problem when it interferes with the accuracy of the data as it is recorded and presented. I have made an effort to observe, record, and write with as little bias as possible. However, identifying with the inmates can also be an advantage. Since I was sensitive to their feelings, it was easier for me to understand some of the feelings and ideas they expressed to me. This was important when assessing the effects some experiences had on the inmates. Further, I feel that my sensitivity was felt

by many of the inmates I talked to and because of this they were willing to share information with me that I am convinced they would not have shared with anyone else.[3]

Hawaii State Prison Environment

Hawaii State Prison is an adult maximum security facility. As the 1980s begin, it is a mixture of old, faded green buildings and modern low-rise modules. There are still some of the old green walls topped with barbed wire, but the new facility is constructed in such a way that walls and barbed wire are at a minimum. Toward the end of 1979, the prison population was reported to be "about 335 inmates" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979n). The per capita cost for incarceration is about $12,000 per year.

Most of the HSP inmates are still held in the sixty-year-old building where the "preferred capacity is between 175 to 200 persons" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979n). The new facilities, including sixteen living modules constructed near the existing buildings, are not being used to house all of the inmates because there are not enough prison personnel to run the new units nor enough mattresses for the inmates. The new facilities have 144 bed spaces as well as classrooms, kitchens, and service areas. Three more modules are to be added, but even with these, "the prison will be short about 150-200 spaces" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1978a). Therefore, the old buildings, which originally were to be demolished, will be kept and used.

Living quarters in the old buildings provide "all the comforts of caged animals" according to a newspaper article written after ten Hawaii State Senators toured the prison (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979a). They "observed that the corridors were oppressively dark and the noise level high, intolerable in some areas" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979a). Overcrowding in the state's prisons, including HSP, prompted Social Services Director Andrew I.T. Chang to state that "'a slight spark' could provoke an incident, with inmates overreacting under stressful conditions" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979ℓ). Corrections Administrator Michael Kakesako stated that "because of the congestion ... prison officers are having 'tremendous problems' monitoring the inmates. They cannot be segregated according to the need for security" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979ℓ).

The inmates live in cellblocks and move throughout the rest of the prison depending on their individual security classification. For instance, some inmates must stay in the cellblock area while others may go into the front section of the administration building. Some of the inmates participate in a resocialization program which allows them to go on furloughs outside the prison. A small number of men, up to nine, participate in a work furlough program. These men come and go from the prison on a daily basis. They live in the administration building and do not go into the prison proper.

A lanai, attached to the administration building, is the visiting area and where most of the interaction between inmates and "outsiders" occurs. It is here that inmates visit their families and friends, consult with their lawyers, and talk to their counselors. Most of the inmates may come to this area without handcuffs, but there are some who are required to be cuffed because of their high security classification.

The inmates' lives are gegulated by buzzers every half hour from 6 a.m. until 9 p.m. When the buzzer sounds, gates throughout the prison are opened for inmate passage from one area to another. Meals are at scheduled times with the inmates eating in staggered shifts based on living quarter assignments. Movement to meals, jobs, school, and recreation is coordinated with the buzzer.

Various activities and programs are provided within the prison.[4] Psychotherapy, both individual and group, is provided by the King Kalakaua Center for Humanistic Psychotherapy (a private clinic under state contract). About seventeen men participate in group therapy and less than ten in individual therapy. Inmates who ask for therapy are placed on a waiting list. The wait can be as long as three to six months for group therapy and twelve to eighteen months for individual therapy.

People Synergistically Involved (PSI) conducts classes periodically with inmates. Almost all inmates participate in this program at some time. Some of the religious programs include the "Ohana," a Samoan Church, and Teen Challenge. The number of inmates who participate in the religious programs varies. Narconon, a program to help the inmates deal with drug abuse, involves fifteen to twenty inmates and Alcoholics Anonymous about fifty.

Academic and vocational education is provided by Hoomana School, under the administration of the Community Colleges of the University of Hawaii. Hoomana School provides different levels of instruction from beginning reading and math to high school equivalency courses. College level courses are available through closed circuit television with Honolulu Community College. Courses in automotive repair, carpentry, and welding are provided for vocational training.

There are a limited number of jobs available to the inmates. These jobs include: the boiler room-(four inmates), the electric shop-(four), the carpenter shop-(two), the garage shop-(six), the landscape shop-(five), the plumbing shop-(four), and the printshop-(eight). There is also an inmate store which employs two, and food services, which is the kitchen, employing thirty-three. Pay is minimal at 25¢ to 50¢ an hour. Each inmate has two accounts, one savings and one spending. Since money is contraband, it goes directly into their accounts. They may buy food and other items from the inmate store using credit based on their spending account.

Recreational activities include: playing tennis, basketball, volleyball, handball, pool, chess, and dominos. There is also weight lifting. Other activities include a weekly ceramics class, weekend movies, use of the prison library, and some handicrafts.

The recreational area consists of one large, concrete floored building which is open on two sides and has a stage at one end. Recreational games such as tennis and basketball are played in this area. There is also a small area separate from the recreation building called the "hobo yard" where they lift weights. The "hobo yard" was formerly used for running and jogging, but construction of a new fence through the yard has cut this already small area in half, making it too small. Original plans for the new facility provided for a recreational yard where the old prison buildings presently stand. Since these old buildings will not be demolished as planned, there will be "little or no outdoor recreational area" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979a).

Guards are present throughout the prison twenty-four hours a day. The administration, counselors, school personnel, and the various program personnel are usually present only Mondays through Fridays. One counselor is on duty weekends and holidays. Weekends and holidays are normal visiting days for family

and friends. Visits last one hour except on some holidays when special field days are held and visitors may stay for several hours.

Observations

In studying HSP I found specific areas of daily interaction which exert major influences on life within the prison. Three of these areas are the interactions between the public and the inmates, interactions among the inmates themselves, and interactions between the guards and the inmates.

Public and Inmates

The physical barriers between the prison and the public are obvious. There are barred windows, high walls, chain link fences, barbed wire, and guard towers. These barriers serve two purposes; one is to keep the inmates in and the other is to keep the public out. The prison is a closed community, and the physical barriers are not the only barriers. The

> level of impact which facilities have upon the total correctional environment is in organizing relationships between people, interaction between offender and other individuals is structured both inside and outside the facility. (State of Hawaii, 1972:52)

HSP organizes and restricts interaction between inmates and the public in many areas.

First, there are restrictions on who is allowed to enter HSP since one needs approval to enter. It is possible to enter and then never be allowed to talk to an inmate. For example, on my first visit the guard at the gate asked my name and reason for wanting to go inside. He then called the staff member I was to visit and verified my answer. Only after verification was I allowed to enter and go to a specific area. I was not allowed contact with an inmate. I assume the entrance procedure I encountered is the usual procedure when a person from the public wants to enter. I also assume that unless a person has a valid reason to enter, entry will be denied. I have seen other people remain outside the prison conducting their business through the gate's bars after being denied entrance.

After the first visit, I wore an identity card clipped to my shirt. With this visible I was usually

allowed in the prison without saying anything at all. Others who work part-time but do not have identity badges are placed on an approved list of people who may enter the prison.

The news media also have limited access to the prison. This is an important point since the public usually relies on television, radio, and newspaper coverage for prison information. An inmate is not allowed to place a news media person on his visiting list unless he can prove a prior relationship existed between them.

Television cameras are allowed in the prison to film specific things. Examples of these are the filmed reports on the "Stay Straight Program" and a short documentary on prison life. I have observed inmates being interviewed without the presence of prison staff. Therefore, these inmates were able to say what they wanted. I do not know if transcripts from interviews and film footage are approved by prison officials before use. However, the administration does have control over which prisoners are interviewed.

Not only is there control over who enters the prison, there is also control over the information released to the public. News releases do not always tell the entire story and inmates are not usually interviewed concerning specific happenings within the prison. Circumstances or details surrounding a suicide, fire, or escape may be omitted.[5] One example is a fire reported in the newspaper stating that "firemen were called to clear the dormitory of smoke" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979q) but not stating that the fire occurred in the Maximum Control Unit in a new section of the prison, nor explaining the problems encountered because of possible architectural deficiencies. Another example is a report about an escape by two inmates. The report included some information about how they escaped from "their holding cell" (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 1980). However, the news release did not mention that their holding cell was in the new Maximum Control Unit.

One inmate stated that many physical wounds of inmates are "no longer reported to police."[6] It was explained that at one time most wounds had to be treated in outside hospitals requiring official reports to the police. HSP is now able to take care of most of the wounds; therefore, reports to outside sources are no longer required, and it is difficult to ascertain how much physical violence takes place.

Sometimes it is difficult to form anything but a fractured picture of a situation because of information control. One example of this was the inmate sit-down strike in November 1979. "Corrections Administrators imposed a blackout on news of the inmate strike ..." (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979o). Inmates indicated that they "favored 'open discussion' of their grievances" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979p). The *Honolulu Advertiser* obtained a copy of inmate grievances and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* obtained copies of the settlement proposals and the final agreement but correction officials made few comments to the news media. The inmates did not have an official spokesperson. It was reported that the inmates' position on press coverage "had been in doubt during the strike" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979p).[7]

Control of entrance and control of information are only two structured interactions between inmates and the public. Personal visits from outsiders are limited, and it is noted that "while encouraged, visiting is a privilege" (State of Hawaii, 1977:34). Visitors must be approved by the facility administrator. All visits are supervised and occur on a limited schedule. "A visitor may not deliver to or receive from any inmate/ward any letter or message or article except with permission of the facility administrator" (State of Hawaii, 1977:34). All visitors, counselors, guards, and anyone else coming into contact with the prisoners are searched for contraband. The maximum number of visitors on an inmate's visiting list is twelve. Possible visitors are screened by the Honolulu Police Department before approval. Aside from the previously mentioned news media persons, exconvicts, parolees, felons, persons with known syndicate ties, and persons on probabion are excluded from visitation rights.

Restrictions are placed on the inmates' correspondence. Inmates may "send and receive letters to and from correspondents approved by the facility administrator" (State of Hawaii, 1977:27). The maximum number of persons allowed on an inmate's correspondence list is twelve. To receive a letter from someone not on his approved list, he might have to "juggle his list to get the letter." This means he may have to remove a name already on his list. However, I have also been told that some mail is delivered even though the writer is not on the inmate's list.

The facility administrator may censor incoming and outgoing mail with the exception of legal mail. Under specified conditions, a letter may be disapproved for

for receipt or sending. I have personally seen letters being censored, but do not know of any mail being refused for receipt or sending.

Telephones are available to the prisoners on a limited basis. Special calls, such as calls to lawyers or to family on the mainland, may be placed during the day with the approval and assistance of a counselor. (The inmate is not allowed to dial the number.) Ten minute phone calls can be placed by the inmates in the evening during specified hours. A limited number of phones are available but phone books are not allowed.

All the controls placed on interactions between inmates and the public help produce a closed community, and interactions which happen within it have little effect on the public. The opposite is also true; the public has little effect on the interactions of the closed community.

Inmates and Inmates

A new inmate moves into this closed community and must learn by trial and error how the prison functions and how he can survive within the walls. A man incarcerated for the first time has been described as being in a "fearful, apprehensive state of mind, perhaps bitter ..." One inmate told me he was "supposed to die" as soon as he came into the prison. Another inmate during his first night in prison lay awake on his bed with a knife ready to use for protection. Many inmates have served time in the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility and expected HSP to be a similar experience. They discovered HSP "is no game."

New inmates are assigned to the Diagnostic Unit (D-block) for three months before recommendations are made by the Prison Diagnostic Committee. Inmates receive the *Inmates Handbook* (State of Hawaii, 1977) to learn the prison's rules and regulations. Although many inmates are illiterate, no provisions are made to help those who cannot read. "No one is there to show him the way; there is no process designed to get him started on the right foot." One inmate told me he was "just new. I'm just learning. No one tells me anything." New inmates hear "tales of violence and death, of corruption and perversion."

Those in D-block are separated from the rest of the prison population. They eat at a different time and their only contact with other inmates seems to be

"yelling out the windows." Later, when they are released from Diagnostic, they must find a place to live in one of the dorms since dorms are not assigned. An inmate with friends or family in the prison does not have many problems "finding a house" (dorm). Others must look for a dorm willing to accept them. If someone does not want the inmate and no one is willing to "stand up for him," he must look elsewhere.[8] Some inmates cannot find a dorm to accept them and they remain in D-block until they do find a dorm.

Individual dorms are often populated by inmates who work on the same workline. For instance, many kitchen workers live in one dorm while inmates on the landscape workline live in another. However, dorms are also populated on a racial basis. For example, many Samoans live together in one dorm while many part-Hawaiians live in another. Blacks and Caucasians are often not easily accepted. Inmates from the mainland, some sex offenders, and "snitches" have difficulty as well.

Racial tensions exist in daily interactions although it was reported that there was not as much tension as "there was before." The problem between the Samoans and other groups is one example. "A riot between Samoan and non-Samoan inmates" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979k) occurred in June 1979 and led to the Samoans being temporarily removed from the general prison population. Not only were the Samoans from the dorm in which the riot occurred removed, but so were Samoans in other dorms because of "increasing threats against Samoan inmates" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979k). It was reported that the Samoans asked "to be allowed to live together as a separate unit" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979m). There were generally bad feelings in the prison. The comment "we don't want them here" was typical of the comments made to me.

Each dorm has a "honcho" (leader) who controls the dorm. Some "honchos" insist that dorm members stick together and not visit with members of other dorms. Dorm members also want and expect "favors" from other members of their dorm. For instance, one kitchen worker told me dorm members wanted him to "bring food to them." It is also important to have someone who will "back your play," and dorm members may do this. As one inmate stated "in here, you no stick by yourself." "Back your play" means having one inmate help another if he is in trouble, or if one inmate decides

to go against another for some reason, those "backing his play" will help him. It is not taken lightly since it can end in death.

The possibility of violence and aberrant sexual activity must be faced on a daily basis. Some of this has been reported in the newspapers, and occasionally a prisoner will discuss it. A young, small or weak inmate is a target for sexual assaults. Other inmates are forced to "prove themselves" whether they want to or not. One inmate said "you have to be ready to prove yourself, how tough you are." Another said "you gotta be ready to kill somebody." One inmate explained how there were times when "something happens next to you and you wish it hadn't happened next to you." He said "why couldn't it happen next to someone else?" He personally saw an inmate who was sleeping in the bed next to him murdered. Another described how he saw an inmate have his head "piped" (beat with a pipe) while he was eating.

There are times when the inmates know when someone is to be beaten or killed. One inmate said "I watched my friend die." He said they had "known it would happen." Another example is the February 1979 murder. The inmate asked his family for money to help him escape "saying he would be killed if he didn't get it" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979c). He was later killed (*Star-Bulletin and Advertiser*, 1979). It was reported that one inmate "did not go to the prison cafeteria for breakfast ... 'because someone was supposed to kill me'" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979b). The local newspapers also reported that another inmate complained of "homosexual assaults and threats against his life" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1978b) while another "claims his life will be in danger" in HSP (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979e). Another man said he would be a "dead man" in HSP (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979f).

Going to the administration is not usually seen as a solution to a problem of violence. Inmates like to settle their own differences. Going into Protective Custody (PC) is one solution; however, PC is often full. It is not entirely safe. As one inmate said "there are ways to get" an inmate in PC.

Some violence occurs because of prison factions, some because of individual disagreements, and some because of the animosity against certain kinds of inmates. For instance, a "snitch" is a target for violence. The inmates have a code that says "silence is golden." An inmate explained it to me this way:

"If I see a paahao [prisoner] beating up on another paahao, I don't see nothing." Administrator Antone Olim has stated "that no prison in this state or on the mainland would be completely safe for an inmate who had 'finked' or 'ratted' on other inmates" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1978b). One finds references in the newspapers that show the existence of the code. Articles about a prison incident state "he refused to tell prison authorities what happened" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979h) or that an inmate "won't talk" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979g). Inmates often told me of their dislike for "snitches," and one inmate said he "would never be no snitch."

I documented two specific cases of snitching. In one an inmate wrote a letter to a prison official concerning drugs being brought into the prison. I was told that "someone snitched." A week later I found out that the "snitch went Punk City" (Protective Custody). The second example was an inmate testifying in a murder trial. He said that he would "testify if he is able to finish his sentence in the police cell block rather than at the prison" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979j). He also wanted to "keep his radio with him" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979j). I heard one HSP inmate say "let him come back here. We give him all the radio he want." His manner of speaking left no doubt that this was a threat.

I also know of one inmate who "took the burn" (accepted punishment) for something he did not do. When I asked "why do you take the burn for something you didn't do?" he replied "I no snitch."

Although there are many times when the inmates seem to be functioning as unified groups, for example when racial groups or dorms stick together, each inmate still "pulls his own time." Even during rap sessions among the inmates, they are careful in what they say. It was best described to me in the following way:

> One thing you must remember in dealing with men in a prison setting ... men are afraid to trust anyone in prison. It becomes a built in mechanism to hide all one's feelings. Any show of emotion is considered a weakness by fellow prisoners and the keepers. (Nickerson, 1978)

One inmate said to me that he "can't talk to other paahaos because they laugh at you." They frequently would tell me personal things and then say "I can't say those things in the back" (in the general prison population). I often asked "Would you trust another inmate with personal information?" The answer often was simply "no." Reasons given were "because they laugh" or "it would be used against me" or "I no trust them." Some indicated that they would trust "a small handful" with information like an escape plan. There have been several escapes during the last sixteen months. After three of the escapes I found at least one other inmate who "heard" in advance that a particular inmate was going to escape. I personally never heard any talk before an escape attempt.

Guards and Inmates

Another major area of important interaction is between the guards and the inmates. As Cohen (1969:77) said:

> One is troubled about conceding absolute discretion to prison officials ... who daily can control the lives of a significant number of people. Actually, discretion is only nominally granted to prison officials. Realistically, day-to-day power is exercised by those who have the most contact with the prisoners—the guards.

Basically, "most guards have nothing to do but stand guard" in "a closed and timeless society where days, weeks, and months have little to distinguish them" (Jacobs 1975:14). This position was supported through discussions with guards and inmates. One guard explained that he changed "from the night-shift to the day-shift because there's more to do" during the day. Inmates reported that guards "read books, newspapers, or magazines or listen to radios or view any TV's or movies." I personally saw a guard in charge of the main control room sleeping while on duty.

There is a high rate of turnover for guards. In an early 1979 interview, one guard stated that out of "forty new guards a couple of years ago" there were about "three left now who stayed on." Younger guards "come in and then leave as soon as they find a better job." Formal training for the guards is a six week course. One new guard said of the training "they don't tell you much." They then receive on-the-job training.

New guards are "tested" by the inmates: they try to find out how a new guard is going to enforce the rules. For instance, when a guard gives the order to clear the block (the inmates are supposed to go

into their cells), inmates will stand around ignoring the order. A typical verbal confrontation might go: The guard repeats "I said clear the block." The inmate says "I no want clear the block. What you do? Write my ass up if I no clear the block?" The guard says "Yeh, I write you up." The inmate then says "Fuck you. Go ahead, write my ass up."

One inmate related to me that a new guard was "headed for trouble." He was not strict enough. He let the "paahous do things" which are not allowed. The inmate said the guard would be "easy to use by paahaos."

The guard "has no intermediaries to bear the brunt of resentment springing from orders which are disliked" (Sykes, 1956:259). The guard is essentially caught between the inmates and the administration. He governs the inmates, and the common attitude toward them is negative. Inmates are viewed as "cons out to get anything they want." The guards feel they are "conned" all the time. They report "watching a paahao be so nice with the counselor" and then going "in the back to beat someone." I was told by many guards to "never trust a paahao" and that "all they do is lie." One guard stated that "paahaos have too many rights."

Some of the guards' interactions with inmates are influenced by interactions among the guards themselves and also between the guards and administration. It is therefore necessary to look into those interactions to some extent.

The guards feel that they cannot rely on the administration. One guard told me that sometimes they receive information "about something going on" and they report such things "to the front" (administration). However, the "front don't do nothing. Then something happens and *we* get blamed for not doing something."

Several guards reported that "there is no unity with us" and that "morale is low." Some feel the Correctional Care Administrator is unqualified to be in that position.[9] He is their boss, and their dissatisfaction with him leaves them without a boss for acceptable guidance and moral support. There are also problems between the higher and the lower ranking guards. Each guard shift has a sergeant assigned to each floor of the dorms. He is in charge of that area, and each sergeant is reported to have "different procedures of operations." This problem was

discussed by guards and prisoners. One example is the problem of inmate movement. Some sergeants insist that inmates move only in conjunction with the buzzer while other sergeants leave the gates unlocked, allowing inmates to come and go between buzzers. The inmates complain that "we don't know what to expect." I once asked a guard if he tried to be consistent in his treatment of the inmates. He stated it was "impossible because every sergeant expects something different of me."

Guards are expected to keep the prison running smoothly and they are evaluated on how well they do this. In other words, "the guard is evaluated in terms of the conduct of the men he controls" (Sykes 1956:260). They are responsible for enforcing all the rules. Aside from the rules and regulations in the *Inmate Handbook* (State of Hawaii, 1977), there are other rules inmates must follow. Guards decide what rules will be followed, when they will be followed, and who will follow them. These decisions are not consistent.

The arbitrary and capricious use of rules keeps the inmates in a continuous state of anxiety since they never know when something they have done will suddenly be reported as a rule violation. Furthermore, one inmate will be reported for a violation while many others knowingly doing the same thing are left alone. They might also be reported for something done many times in the past without any action taken to report it.

An example of the arbitrary application of rules concerns the rule which says that no food or drinks may be removed from the dining area. However, it is frequently done. One inmate told me he was not allowed to "bring coffee out" one day while on another he was allowed to "bring juice back to my house." Someone else told he he was "written up for taking bread" while another said he was "caught with bread" but the guard just "took it away" from him.

The possession of marijuana is another example. It is contraband but is widely distributed in the prison. I was told that as long as the "paahaos don't do it right in front of a makai" (guard) that "nothing would happen." One inmate explained how he was passing a "joint" in an envelope to another inmate when it was intercepted by a guard. He "looked inside and just walked off" taking the envelope with him. Neither inmate was reported. In another unrelated incident an

inmate was written up and officially charged for possession of one joint.

Since the evaluation of a guard is based on the conduct of the inmates, it is to the advantage of the guard to ignore some offenses and/or make sure "that he never places himself in a position to discover infractions of the rules" (Sykes, 1956:260). This way it appears that he has control and that the inmates are obeying the rules. Some inmates feel, however, that "by way of write-ups is how a guard gets recognized" and therefore, perhaps promoted.

When rule infractions are written up, the inmate must face a board which decides his guilt, innocence, and punishment if required.[10] All of this remains in the inmate's record and is used as a basis for future decisions. Some of these decisions are extremely important, such as what security level he is awarded and even whether he is paroled or not. The guard, therefore, exerts influence over important decisions concerning the inmate's future.

Physical abuse of the guards is not tolerated, although at times it happens. Should an inmate strike a guard, the inmate usually "goes into lock-up" (Maximum Control Unit). He can be officially charged and taken to court where he might receive "added time" (another sentence). The guard is given time off the job with pay and medical bills are covered by the state. Guards' and inmates' stories are opposing on this subject. Guards report that "all attacks are unprovoked and nothing happens to the paahao." Inmates report that "makais taunt us and play with our heads." When an inmate strikes back, "he gets added time while the makai gets vacation with pay.

It is also a rule infraction to use abusive language or threaten a guard. The *Inmate Handbook* (State of Hawaii, 1977:67) states "staff personnel shall make every effort to avoid the provocation of inmates/wards." However, there is a continuous verbal exchange between guards and inmates. Guards complain that inmates call them names and frequently use abusive language such as "fuck you." Other phrases include "hey, wana get down" (fight) and "maybe I no can get you here but out on the street we get down." Inmates report that guards use the abusive language, threaten to give "write-ups," and tease inmates who have visitors saying "hey, you got someone love you?" It is the continual use of such exchanges that cause the inmates to react. I asked one inmate why they do not report the guards. He said "Why? Nothing happen to them." I interviewed an inmate who reported a guard for abusive language. I asked "What happened?" He said "Nothing. They believe him."

Inmates often report that guards "play with our heads." One common practice is not to call an inmate out when he is authorized to be called out or to keep him in his dorm an extra fifteen or twenty minutes before allowing him to see his counselor or visitor. I have experienced this problem during my work and other inmates have reported similar instances to me.

Discussion

In studying HSP one finds an isolated, hostile environment with activity patterns based on fear and alienation. Fear does not remain isolated but spreads into many activities. As stated in the *Correctional Master Plan* (State of Hawaii, 1972:53) "hostile physical environments tend to carry over that message into activities, and serve to impede the rehabilitative process." Furthermore, the alienated inmate distrusts all those around him, which essentially leaves him to cope with the situation alone. Thomas (1977:66) in his study of prisons found alienation of the inmates

> fosters high levels of assimilation, and assimilation is strongly related to substantial negativism and hostility toward the staff, programs, and policies of the prison organization.

Such feelings are found within HSP. The inmates do feel they are a group in opposition to the guards, staff, and administration.

The inmates are also overcrowded which leads to greater tension in their interactions. The lack of jobs and activities to fill their time leaves empty hours, which many inmates attempt to escape through use of drugs.[11] The addition of drugs in the environment causes psychological changes sometimes leading to greater hostility.[12]

Because HSP operates as an isolated organization, the life within it continues without any interference. The isolation continues because of the control of information released to the public and by the controls placed on interactions between the inmates and the public.

Murton (1976) discusses the area of information control and states that even when information reaches the public that:

> it is the warden who is called on to explain what occurred .... *society* generally accepts the warden's explanation without further inquiry; that is without seeking information from other officials or from the inmates themselves. (Murton, 1967:78)

Administrative control on the release of information has the major effect of influencing the public's impression of the prison and the inmates. For instance, prison officials may release a lot of information about a murder within the prison, reinforcing the generally held attitude that inmates are dangerous.[13] On the other hand, they may release very little information concerning efforts by the inmates to help others. One example is information about those inmates who go into the schools to talk with teenagers about prison and the problems which can lead to prison.

Toward the end of 1979 and into 1980, the HSP administration has allowed news coverage of the "Stay Straight Program" and the prison drama group which publicly performed in the play "Big Boys Don't Cry." This is information which tends to give a positive impression of inmates. However, it also reinforces a positive view of the prison administration since they control the existence of such programs. In other words, released information also affects the public's impression of the administration and staff.

The controls placed on interactions between the public and the inmates effectively limit the public's involvement in the prison. Restrictions on the number of visitors and correspondents, plus limited telephone privileges also limit information to the public. Once inside the prison, visitors may only go into authorized areas and see specific people.

Most visitors do not go any further than the administration building or lanai, so they do not see the conditions of the entire prison. The inmates spend most of their time in the rest of the prison. Visitors are mainly relatives and personal friends who are thankful to be able to see him. They do not want to do anything to revoke visiting privileges; therefore, they do not complain.

In 1971 researchers at Stanford University conducted what is called "The Stanford Prison Experiment" to discover "the behavioral and psychological consequences of becoming a prisoner or prison guard" (Zimbardo et al., 1971?:1). At one point visitors were allowed into the mock "prison." The researchers have written:

> We were worried that when the parents saw the state of our jail and their children, they might insist on taking them home. To counter this, we first grossly manipulated the situation, and then we subtly manipulated the visitors. We did the "hypocrisy" trip to make the prison environment seem pleasant to the parents and undercut any complaints the prisoners might present to them. (Zimbardo et al., 1971?:8)

It should be noted that this action was not designed into the original experiment. It evolved from the situation. They were able to manipulate the viewpoint of the visitors because they controlled the flow of information. They were also able to manipulate the visitors because they had total control of the environment.

In the end, the visitors complied with arbitrary rules, although there was some complaining. Those who complained about the conditions of the prison did so privately to the "superintendent" and apologized for causing trouble. They became part of the system without even realizing it.

Since HSP is a similarly closed and controlled environment, information and visitors can be similarly manipulated. The public's reactions are based on the information it receives. Since the information can be limited or omitted, the public's reactions can be limited or omitted; and for the most part, the process goes unnoticed. Omitting information from a news release can keep the public from asking questions. For instance, omitting information about ventilation problems during a fire in a new building will keep the public from asking questions regarding the building's design. Not releasing the information that the two inmates who escaped did so from the new Maximum Control Unit will keep the public from questioning the security procedures of one of the most secure areas in the prison.

"The Stanford Prison Experiment" can be compared to HSP in other ways. The HSP environment is such that it encourages disintegration of the inmates as a group, and even when inmates seem to function as a unified group, there is disunity beneath the surface. After only six days in "The Stanford Experiment" the researchers found that

> the prisoners were disintegrated, both as a group and slowly even as individuals. There was no longer any group unity; just a bunch of isolated individuals hanging on .... (Zimbardo et al., 1971?:14)

An HSP inmate begins his incarceration isolated from the general prison population. He has to learn about prison life on his own; he first hears about the physical violence and then he moves into it. He must learn very quickly to defend himself from attacks, and he must "prove" himself.[14] Inmates learn to "watch their backs" for survival. Close observation reveals that some inmates keep looking around when they are talking to another person. Even on the lanai when talking to a counselor, some inmates will be shifting their eyes to check movement around them. Trust of fellow inmates is difficult to form when one has to worry about being attacked or even killed.

There seemes to be unity regarding the inmates' code which says "no snitching." As one inmate put it "You don't find many snitches around. They're all in PC." (Protective Custody). Conforming to the code does make survival easier. However, the code does not help inmates cope with the violence; it does mean they must "not see" it.

Some unity exists within dorms. There is group identification and inmates will boast that their dorm is the best. As one inmate said, "we are like family." However, within the dorms there is friction. It can be caused by racial factions, disagreements over debts, drugs, or attempts to change "honchos." Other inmates will "back someone's play" which means more inmates become involved.

Even racial unity breaks down on an individual level. No matter who his friends are, each inmate still "pulls his own time." He does not share personal information for fear the information will be used against him or that he will be laughed at. He decides how he will survive the prison experience.

There are two sets of rules, the administration's and the inmates'. The inmate must obey his own rules in order to survive. If he also wants to be released from prison before the end of his maximum sentence, he will have to follow the administration's rules. When the two conflict, he must make a choice. The choice is essentially between survival and freedom; this choice leads to the "con game" (lies). Since the inmate cannot continually follow both sets of rules, he must "con" someone. He will "con" the inmates so they do not think he is "kissing ass" (playing along with the administration's rules), and he will "con" staff members because he needs their help to get released early.

Administration and staff, on the other hand, limit the amount of information the inmate receives.[15] Furthermore, they are not consistent in their actions. Many times their talk and actions differ. The guards' capricious enforcement of the rules is one example. Privileges are given and then retracted. This is considered one of the "head games" (psychological) by the inmates.

Eventually, the "con games" and "head games" lead to a lack of trust among all participants. No one believes anyone. Even in "The Stanford Prison Experiment" after only thirty-six hours, distrust surfaced when the researchers had to release their first "prisoner." They write that he

> was suffering from acute emotional disturbance, disorganized thinking, uncontrollable crying, screaming and rage. In spite of all of this, we had already come to think so much like prison authorities that we thought he was fooling, so to say, trying to "con us."

Distrust of the inmates is the guards' major attitude. I was cautioned many times by guards not to trust the inmates, and several guards expressed their surprise that I would want to work with the inmates.

The guards have day-to-day control over the inmates, yet, they receive little training. They work in a hostile environment, and they find little unity within their own group. Guards in higher positions follow their own procedures, and procedures vary from guard to guard and shift to shift. It is the guard's job to enforce the rules and he uses this to show his power in the system. The arbitrary enforcement of rules demonstrates this power. He can choose what rules he wants to enforce and he chooses who he wants to obey them. He uses the "write-up" as his tool of enforcement. Since "write-ups" are used when making major decisions about the inmate, this is a powerful tool.

The inmates taunt, tease, and curse the guards. The guards can retaliate in a number of ways. There are verbal retaliations, threats of "write-ups," and "write-ups." They can also decide to enforce the rules more stringently or they may "play with an inmate's head" by calling him late when he has a visitor.

When the "prisoners" taunted, teased, and cursed the "guards" in "The Stanford Prison Experiment," the guards decided they "were not going to have any more of that shit. Now the guards began to step up even

more their control, authority, surveillance and aggression" (Zimbardo et al., 1971?:7). Furthermore, "guards" who did not exploit their power did not interfere with the "guards" who did. By lack of interference, they perpetuated the system that had evolved.

"The Stanford Prison Experiment" raises many questions. Since many parallels can be drawn between the experiment and HSP, the same questions can be asked regarding HSP. One major question is why do these activity patterns exist. The experiment leads one beyond the personality of those involved and points toward environmental reasons.

"The Stanford Prison Experiment" was scheduled to last for two weeks. The men who participated were "healthy, intelligent, middle-class college males" (Zimbardo et al., 1971?:2). There was no difference between those who played "guards" and those who played "prisoner." They were randomly assigned. At the end of the experiment Zimbardo (1971?:16) stated

> we had indeed created a prison in which people were suffering, in which some boys called prisoners were withdrawing, becoming isolated and behaving in pathological ways.

"Prisoner" turned against "prisoner" and some "guards" became sadistic.[16] Other guards allowed the sadistic treatment to continue. Even the researchers became so involved in the interaction that their involvement was questioned by another psychologist. After only six days, the experiment had to be stopped. They could not allow the experiment to continue the scheduled two weeks.

The same activity patterns still exist at HSP. Although one must give consideration to individual personalities as well as previous experiences, in light of research such as Zimbardo's one must also examine the environment before one begins to understand the actions of the individuals within it.

NOTES

1. Some of these include Mitford (1973), Murton (1976), and Sykes (1958).

2. The same process, although to a lesser degree, took place between me and prison personnel.

3. I was once asked if I thought my identity as a woman had any bearing on the type or quality of the information I received. I think that this certainly would have some effect at times, although it is difficult to ascertain how much. I did discuss this on three different occasions with different inmates and found that they thought that I would receive personal information of a sensitive nature that a man would not. As a woman I did not pose a threat to their maleness, and therefore, they would not have to maintain that kind of front with me. At the same time, it seems reasonable to think that some would want to impress me because I am a woman. Just as some men "cleaned up" their language when speaking to me and others did not, it is possible that at times information was altered to some extent.

4. Information on activities and programs comes from various discussions with counselors, guards, and prisoners. Although I requested a list of available programs and the number of prisoners each could accommodate, no such list existed then nor have I received one as of this writing.

5. All details may also be included. The decision is apparently made by the administration.

6. This quote and all others, unless otherwise labeled, are from my fieldnotes. The quotes appear as they were stated; I have made no corrections in grammar. Although my fieldnotes are dated, I have decided to omit the dates in this paper. I do this in an effort to insure complete anonymity.

7. This can be compared to the coverage of the Public Workers Strike which occurred during the same time as the inmate strike. There was coverage of both sides as well as of the mediator.

8. The same procedure exists if an inmate wants to, or has to, move from one dorm to another.

9. This was discussed by guards and inmates and was also mentioned in one article in the newspaper (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 1979i).

10. Inmates say they are usually found guilty of whatever they are charged with since the guard's word is normally taken over an inmate's word. This point can be verified or disproved by tabulating the reports and the decisions rendered which are in the inmates' files. However, inmate files are confidential and therefore, not easily accessible.

11. One of the major complaints from all inmates was that there are so few activities to fill their time. In fact, many inmates sleep as much as possible to pass the time.

12. Although I was unable to observe drug usage and the effects, drugs are an acknowledged part of prison life. Guards will conduct a "shake-down" (thorough search of dorms) when inmate behavior becomes noticeably erratic. Drugs produce problems of debts between inmates which can lead to fights. Some inmates go into Protective Custody to avoid the physical consequences of owing money. The introduction of drugs also requires a "drug running" system.

13. One of the most frequent questions I am asked by those who find out that I work in the prison is "Aren't you afraid?" The general attitude is that I should be afraid to go in and work with "dangerous men."

14. Some inmates are not sexually assaulted or physically challenged, but they do not know who will be and who will not. The violence seems to be an accepted occurrence, and since it is not usually reported to the staff or administration, it is difficult to ascertain the amount of violence that exists.

15. An inmate may not even read his own prison file.

16. Such traits did not show up on personality tests taken before the experiment.

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ETHNICITY AND THE DISPOSITION OF ARRESTS FOR VIOLENT CRIME IN HONOLULU*

Gene Kassebaum

Ethnic Pluralism and Justice

The State of Hawaii is, in the public view, synonymous with ethnic and racial pluralism. Its achievements are well-known and well-advertised: the preservation of the cultural integrity of heterogeneous ethnic and national communities, a consistently high rate of ethnic intermarriage, the achievement of social accommodation, some assimilation and even relative tranquility (at least by the race relations standards of southeast Asia or mainland USA). Less well known are the ethnic exploitation, suspicion and conflict which preceded the post-World War II period, and the interstitial tensions and frictions that grind beneath the surface in Hawaii today. It is thus natural to inquire into the correlates of ubiquitous ethnic identity in Hawaii, and to raise questions of equity and discrimination in the administration of public services.[1]

Among these services is one which should embody the ideal of even-handedness: criminal justice. Here we pose a question many have seen as fundamental to the administration of justice in a democratic society: can members of economically disadvantaged groups receive fair treatment from agencies of the State when their conduct is suspect and held accountable to the criminal law and the penal code through arrest and prosecution? Is it possible to have equity of treatment in a stratified and diversified community?

Institutional racism denotes a process which results in significant differences in the amount or quality of public services to persons as a result of ethnic (or gender) characteristics. Institutional racism does not either assume or deny intention to discriminate on the part of a decision maker in the system. The interest is in the results or consequences of a given arrangement. The term institutional racism represents a shift of policy and research interest away from sole preoccupation with questions of individual attitudes and interpersonal relations or actions and toward questions of whether

the net effect of a given sequence of actions or decisions within an organization is to discriminate against members of a given social category to which that organizational action should by law be indifferent.

Ethnic Groups in the Hawaiian Islands

The history of Hawaii is the history of successive waves of ethnic groups migrating to the islands since the eighteenth century and the impact of this immigration on the indigenous Polynesian population. Each group fought, worked or bought its way into the social strata of the emerging society. While considerable intergeneration mobility can be documented and although individuals from many ethnic groups spread throughout the class and status structure, there is a correlation of class standing and ethnic stock: the Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, and the Haoles (Caucasians), comprising perhaps 66 percent of the civilian families in the late 1970s, occupy the upper and middle ranges of income (1977 median family incomes of $21,000 to $19,000 per annum). The biologically amalgamated but culturally distinct part-Hawaiians, the non-Hawaiian mixed ethnicities and the Filipinos, about 30 percent of the families, occupy the middle to lower ranges of income (medians in 1977 of $13,000 to $12,400). Samoan, Puerto Rican, Black, and pure Hawaiian (about 3-4 percent of families) occupy the bottom strata of income (1977 medians of $10,800 to $8,000 per annum). The data on income and ethnicity are displayed in Table 1.

To what extent do ethnic groups differ in arrest rates for crimes of violence? Are some ethnic groups more likely to be victims of violent crime than others in the population? Does ethnicity have an effect independent of social class (education, occupation, unemployment)? Do some ethnic groups have a higher likelihood of receiving more severe sentences for crimes than other groups, apart from such factors as prior criminal record or nature of instant offense?

These are questions which are difficult to resolve for several reasons. First, because the ethnic labels themselves are ambiguous and there is a great amount of variance within each category. Second, data which permit assignment of individuals in the population to one of the ethnic categories are often not available. Some public agencies, in order to fill in the blanks on their record forms, use surname as a guide to ethnicity, some go by an officer's estimate from physical appearance, some ask the suspect or defendant

TABLE 1. Median Income by Ethnic Category of Family Head: 1977[a]

Ethnicity	Total $15,837	Civilian[b] (excl. military) $17,000	Non-barracks (i.e., off base) Military only $10,736
Haole	15,140	19,005	10,736
Japanese	19,475	19,431	*
Chinese	21,237	21,183	*
Korean	19,330	19,702	*
Filipino	12,401	*	*
Pt-Hawaiian	13,651	13,615	*
Hawaiian	9,174	9,278	*
Mixed non-Hawaiian	13,037	13,438	*
Samoan	8,073	*	*
Black	10,838	*	9,606
Puerto Rican	9,774	*	*
Other	8,093	*	*

*When unexpanded sample base is less than 50, no cell data are printed.

[a]Note: data base = 17,295 persons surveyed in 1977 excluding on-base military, institutional patients (including Kalaupapa), prisoners, Niihau and excluding tourists/visitors.

Population report #11, Population Characteristics of Hawaii 1977, Department of Health & Department of Planning & Economic Development.

what he calls himself, and some record ethnic classification of father and mother. Terms implicit in ordinary conversation (like "local") are seldom recorded. Income, which would permit a measure of social class, is often unavailable.[2] Third, the influence of a single trait such as ethnicity, on some criterion like arrest rate, may be shown to be due to some third variable, such as prior arrest record. Thus what in bivariate tables seems to be a sign of discriminatory treatment may be entirely or partially the result of other factors. Finally, arrest and sentencing are decisions and actions of particular individuals (an individual policeman, an individual judge). While overall policy guidelines and total figures may be non-discriminatory, specific policemen or judges may be discriminatory toward one or another ethnic group.[3]

The study reported here coded all adults arrested for violent crime in Honolulu in 1973 and provides a data base for looking at the role of ethnicity and other factors in accounting for arrest, dismissal, conviction, and sentencing.

Although at the time of the study persons identified as Hawaiian, Samoan or non-Hawaiian mixed ethnically formed approximately 27 percent of the State population, they were 42 percent of all those arrested for violent felony crime and 75 percent of the prison population. If the population within the prison is composed of a much higher percentage of minority persons than the population in the state as a whole, that is the outcome of some kind of shaping and selective process in the society. Whether that shaping is on a level which produces ethnic differences in child rearing, school retention, employment or adult crime, or whether that shaping and selective process is a matter of differential law enforcement or sentencing behavior of officials in the social control agencies of the community is a question which is of primary importance in the understanding of a process of institutional racism. Our interest in this paper is to examine a series of cases in order to inquire into what extent decision making in law enforcement and justice agencies are among those racist influences.

A long line of research on what happens to cases after arrest is too extensive to be reviewed here but greatly influenced this project. Among the earliest studies of the disposition of arrests were the volumes by Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter (1922) and Raymond Moley (1926, 1929). More recently Subin (1966), Forst (1977), Rhodes (1978), Roth and Wice (1978), and Williams (1978) contributed studies of criminal court functioning in Washington, D.C.; Blumberg (1967), Bernstein, et al. (1977 and forthcoming) and the Vera Institute (1977) analyzed New York city court dispositions of arrests; Greenwood, et al. (1973) studied the Los Angeles County Prosecutor's office; and Neubauer in 1974 published a study of case disposition in a small town in Illinois. A recent study of criminal case disposition in Baltimore, Chicago, and Detroit by Eisenstein and Jacob (1977) and a general overview of the criminal justice process by Silberman (1978) introduce comparative data. Plea bargaining has been lucidly discussed by Rossett and Cressey (1977), Lachman and McLauchlan (1977), Burke and Turk (1974), and Herbert Jacob (1970).

The questions pursued in the Honolulu study are, in the main, stimulated by the major conclusions of previous studies: specifically to what extent does the probability of dismissal, conviction or sentencing reflect characteristics of the offense, the offender's prior criminal record, the strength of evidence or social status characteristics of the defendant?

The Data for the Study of Violent Crimes

The study began with a review of the booking ledger of the Honolulu Police Department of the year 1973 and noted each arrest for murder, attempted murder, rape, robbery, and assault 1st or 2nd degree. Next followed a review of all relevant agency records (the prosecutor's files being the most important), obtained official records of their arrests and convictions prior to 1973, and their subsequent arrests and conviction record since the 1973 arrest. In this way a total of 359 persons formed a study cohort to be traced through Hawaii's justice, corrections and mental health agencies in the following four years to mid-1978.[4]

It must be stressed that violent felony arrests make up an important but statistically small proportion of all arrests, and that violent crime is a small part of the total volume of crime in any community.[5] The great bulk of crime is property crime. We exclude in this survey common property crimes such as burglary, car theft and larceny, and also victimless crimes such as violations of drug laws or gambling. Excluded entirely are the very costly corporation crimes, direct losses due to syndicate, organized crime, and other crimes of the non-street variety. For the present study, we focus on violent felonies, and all statements should be understood to contain that qualification implicitly. Thus, the information and conclusions to follow do not pretend to be a complete description of the crime problem in Honolulu or the operations of the government agencies involved. It is an analysis of how one year's arrests for violent crime were handled.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses are drawn from previous studies as well as general observations made of criminal justice administrations in Hawaii. The hypotheses roughly assume a "justice" model, a conception that assumes the purpose of the courts and the procedural law is

to reduce the operation of gross distinctions of social rank and group membership in the assessment of guilt or innocence and the imposition of punishment for crime. The extent to which the procedures accomplish this is relevant to the evaluation of the functioning of the court, the prosecutor and public defender and corrections.

From this perspective, for analysis purposes, we test the hypotheses that, although the probability of arrest differs by ethnicity of defendant, (a) the probability of dismissal of charges, (b) the probability of conviction, (c) the probability of charge reduction, (d) the severity of sentence imposed, will not differ by ethnicity of defendant.

The Cases Under Study

The police booking ledger recorded 359 individuals as having been arrested in 1973 for murder or attempted murder, rape, robbery or aggravated assault. A few other persons were arrested in 1973 for something else and then later charged with one of the violent felonies (e.g., arrested for burglary, subsequently charged with rape). With the exception of cases missed in that way (and a two day gap in which police ledger pages were not located), all persons arrested for violent felony crime in that one calendar year are included in this study.

It is interesting to note some of the characteristics of the arrested population. Fifty individuals were either on probation (33) or parole (17) at the time of their 1973 arrest. Another three were sentenced to prison but were arrested before being committed. Another twenty-three were out on bail, one was out on own recognizance, one had been disposed of on a previous offense by a "deferred acceptance of guilty plea" and five were apprehended for a violent crime while listed as escapees from correctional facilities. That is a total of seventy-three persons who were already, when arrested for their 1973 crime, active cases in the criminal justice system, either on probation or parole or awaiting trial or sentencing for a previous offense.

There were slightly more than 47 percent with a previous misdemeanor or felony *conviction* (and 1 percent doubtful) and about 60 percent (215 persons) with at least one prior *arrest* (45 percent had been charged with a felony). Sixty-eight persons arrested had been sentenced to jail in the past at least once; thirty-nine persons had been to prison in the past.

Seventy-one persons had been on probation prior to the 1973 arrest. Nearly a third had some record of prior violence (20 percent convicted of a violent offense, 11 percent arrested and charged only).

In 158 cases we had no data on juvenile history (usually because there was no conviction for the 1973 arrest, hence no presentence report). Of those 201 with some information regarding juvenile history 30 percent had neither juvenile record nor adult record, 11 percent had no juvenile but one or more prior adult offenses, 24 percent had some juvenile and no adult and 30 percent had both.

Neither the persons arrested in connection with a violent felony nor their victims are a cross section of the population. Although drawn from all ethnic groups, some ethnic groups are over-represented, some under-represented among defendants. Interestingly, those ethnic groups which are under-represented among defendants figure high among victims of violent crime.[6]

Table 2 displays the ethnicity breakdown of the defendants, the victims and a sample survey of the State population.

TABLE 2. Comparison of State Population to Violent Arrest Population

Ethnicity	% State Population[a]	% Persons Arrested Violent Crime 1973	1973 Victims
East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean)	32	10	15.4
Haole (Caucasian)	22 Haole & Portuguese	22 Portuguese	49.6 3.0
Hawaiian & part-Hawaiian	17	32	11.7
Filipino	11	15	9.3
Samoan, Cosmopolitan	10	10	3.0
Black, Hispanic	3	11	4.7
Other ethnicity	0	0	3.3
	100 n=17,295	100 n=359	100 n=460

[a]Note: The data base (n=17,295) is a 2 percent random sample of the State population.

Source: Population Characteristics of Hawaii 1977 Report No. 11, Hawaii State Department of Health.

Many more Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, and Blacks get arrested than would be expected from the proportion each group forms of the general population. Samoans and persons of non-Hawaiian mixed background are about what would be expected from their proportions in the entire population, as are Filipinos; slightly fewer Haoles are arrested than would be expected; arrest rates for Japanese, Chinese, and Korean (hereafter East Asians) are much lower than expected. Likewise, the distribution of ethnicity of victims departs from expectations for the State population. More Haoles are officially reported victimized by robbery and by rape than all other ethnic groups combined (57 percent of robbery victims and 58 percent of rape victims are Haole). There are more reported Haole assault victims than any other single group (27 percent as compared with the next in rank which is Hawaiian with 17 percent); Haoles tie with Filipinos as victims of attempted murder (27 percent of attempted murder victims were Haole.

Only among murder victims did other groups surpass Haoles (Hawaiians are 30 percent, East Asians are 26 percent of murder victims). It is also of interest to note that while women comprise a very small percentage (9 percent) of defendants, they are 32 percent of all victims of violent felonies.

The defendants are drawn disproportionately from the under-educated. About half of the arrested persons on whom education data were available had not graduated from high school (education of victims is not recorded).

Persons arrested were young and thus are often difficult to classify in terms of occupation or employment history. Many are too young to be expected to have achieved a stable job or line of work. But all were adults, and, taking the best indicator of their job standing, it is apparent that overall, the arrested population is concentrated in unskilled or poor paying jobs; moreover, nearly half were unemployed at the time of their arrest. Those ethnic groups with the lowest average levels of occupational status are over-represented among persons arrested for violent felonies. And within those ethnic groups, the occupational level of defendants is lower than the group averages. (See Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c.)

Ethnicity is correlated with a set of variables—income, length of education, regularity of employment—and these are correlated with the probability of arrest for a criminal law violation. Honolulu's violent criminals are disproportionately low income,

TABLE 3a. Ethnic Groups in Hawaii, by Usual Occupation

	unskilled	semi-skilled	skilled	clerical, sales	manager	not reported	base for 100%
East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean)	3.6	8.5	31.0	16.6	37.3	2.9	(80,626)
Haole	4.2	11.4	18.7	14.0	49.7	2.0	(52,903)
Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian	8.6	19.6	43.5	8.7	18.8	.9	(27,614)
Filipino	11.3	24.4	39.9	11.9	11.3	1.3	(22,126)
Samoan, Cosmopolitan	7.4	17.1	32.8	13.4	26.7	2.6	(14,262)
Black, Hispanic	17.1	15.4	34.9	19.0	9.7	4.0	(2,654)

unskilled = laborers (excluding farm), private household workers
semi-skilled = farm laborers, service workers
skilled = operatives, craftsmen
clerical, sales = sales, clerical
manager = professional, farmers, farm managers, officials, proprietors
not reported = no data

TABLE 3b. Ethnicity and Occupation: All Cases Arrested for Violent Crime 1973

Ethnicity	Usual Occupation							
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Clerical, Sales	Manager	None or Irregular	No Data	Total
East Asian	31.4	25.7	8.6	0.0	8.6	17.1	8.6	100.0 (35)
Haole	17.2	43.1	3.4	10.3	10.3	12.1	3.4	100.0 (58)
Portuguese	42.1	10.5	5.3	0.0	5.3	36.8	0.0	100.0 (19)
Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian	31.9	38.9	5.3	1.8	3.5	16.8	1.8	100.0 (113)
Filipino	40.0	34.0	8.0	0.0	8.0	8.0	2.0	100.0 (50)
Samoan, Cosmopolitan	38.9	36.1	2.8	0.0	8.3	13.9	0.0	100.0 (36)
Black, Hispanic	15.8	50.0	0.0	5.3	15.8	7.9	5.3	100.0 (38)
Other	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0 (4)
								(353)

TABLE 3c. Ethnicity and Occupation. All Cases Convicted of Violent Crime

Ethnicity	Usual Occupation							
	Unskilled	Semi Skilled	Skilled	Clerical, Sales	Manager	None or Irregular	No Data	Total
East Asian	38.5	30.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.4	15.4	100.0 (13)
Haole	10.0	50.0	0.0	10.0	10.0	15.0	5.0	100.0 (20)
Portuguese	50.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	100.0 (6)
Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian	24.6	43.9	5.3	1.8	5.3	19.3	0.0	100.0 (57)
Filipino	53.3	13.3	13.3	0.0	6.7	13.3	0.0	100.0 (15)
Samoan, Cosmopolitan	33.3	38.1	4.8	0.0	4.8	19.0	0.0	100.0 (21)
Black, Hispanic	30.0	30.0	0.0	10.0	10.0	20.0	0.0	100.0 (10)
Other	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0 (1)
								(143)

poorly educated and irregularly employed young men. Examining crime as a life chance among a sample of young men in Hawaii one must take ethnic group as a predictor, one of a cluster, that puts some persons at greater risk of an eventual term in jail or prison. A basic injustice in the distribution of life chances feeds our justice system. Among the burdens thrust upon minority ethnic groups is a disproportionate burden of crime.

After arrest, how even-handed is our justice system? We must trace cases through that system to find out.

In all, the study opened files on 359 persons who were arrested in connection with one of these offenses in 1973. At the point of arrest, 85 had been booked on assault, 169 on robbery, 49 on rape, 33 on attempted murder and 23 on murder and non-negligent manslaughter.

Dismissal

The cohort of 359 persons arrested in 1973 for violent felony crime was traced through the justice system to determine various dispositions. In that cohort, 111 of the 359 cases were dismissed and did not receive further action. Of these, more than 90 percent were released less than 24 hours after arrest. Notes in the arrest report reveal that insufficient evidence, and refusal of the witness or victim to be available, too seriously weakened the case to warrant going further. In some instances, closer questioning of the complainant revealed no crime had taken place. Examples of dismissed cases:

Case #303—Arrest on robbery charge. Police concluded however the alleged victim was a disgruntled marijuana buyer who wanted his money back and got into an altercation with the suspect, later accusing him of robbery. Victim admitted to police it was a false claim and suspect was discharged.

Case #369—The victim's statement: a male gave the victim and a friend a ride when they were hitchhiking. He stopped the car at a Honolulu address and said he would be out in a minute, mentioning threateningly that they (victims) were not to leave, that defendant had a gun. He returned, pretended to drive them home but went instead to lonely spot. He informed two women he "wanted to party" and proceeded to remove his shorts, reminding them he had a gun in the glove compartment. One victim grabbed the car keys and ran. The defendant caught her, dragged her back to car where he punched her and demanded money. Defendant forcibly took money. Victim ran for help, leaving the second girl at the scene. The police arrived, arresting the suspect male. No gun was fund however in the glove compartment, and the money could not be identified as having come from the victim. There were no bruises. The victim was asked to take a polygraph test but refused. The suspect was discharged "pending further investigation." Victim later phoned police saying she was dropping her complaint "for her own personal reasons." Attempts to locate victim and her friend were unsuccessful. No further action on case.

Case #290—Assault: Victims were camping at beach park. Stated group of men came into campsite in night and beat up two males in victim's party. One local male arrested on identification by witness but he proved to be a person who had been involved in another fight at campsite earlier in the day. Victims taken to hospital for treatment. None of the witnesses could positively identify assailants; other witnesses preferred not to get involved and refused to give information. Case dismissed.

A statistical analysis was made to distinguish features of cases which seem associated with a higher likelihood of dismissal. Keeping in mind that the cohort consists of only those persons arrested in 1973 for violent crime, several items of information allow better than chance prediction; but with the general measures used, only modest levels of explanation are possible. Since available records do not record the more subtle or individual details, some of the decisions by police, prosecutor, judge, or jury are not explained. However, the analysis with admittedly crude measures contributes something of the following: First, like a coarse sifting, it may permit screening out large influences which may reflect major criteria or sources of influence which operate. Second, inequity or discrimination, if large enough to be of consequence, has a good chance of showing there. Third, and cross cutting the above, at the present it is the only affordable way to examine hundreds of cases. The deficiencies in the analysis, however, should alert state and local agencies to the need to incorporate a more detailed data collection procedure, at least on a sample basis.

One way of determining whether ethnicity or any other characteristic of defendants has an influence on decision making (say, to dismiss the case, to convict or to sentence if convicted) is to cross classify each decision category (dismissed, not dismissed) on that characteristic. But it is well known that some personal characteristics are also correlated with other attributes such as prior criminal record, and so cross classifications must take these other characteristics into account.

There are several techniques which help in assessing the correlation of a set of predictor items on a criterion measure.

One is to perform a multiple regression analysis using a dichotomized dependent variable (dismissed after arrest vs. proceed in to prosecution). A stepwise analysis admitted five variables into the equation before reaching a point where the addition of more variables did not increase the proportion of variance explained by at least one percent. These five variables and their coefficients are listed in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Regression on DISMISSAL

Variable	Beta	r	R	R^2	Discriminant Weight
Victim threatened	-.269	-.29	.295	.087	.712
offense: Assault	.393	.23	.340	.115	.688
offense: Robbery	.310	-.03	.365	.133	.463
defendant on bail or probation at time of offense	-.078	-.11	.376	.141	.247
Ethnicity: haole	.118	.08	.380	.144	.151

All additional variables, ten more for a total of 15, produced a multiple correlation with dismissal of .40, a gain of an additional 2 percent of explained variance. Ethnicity adds little to the explanation of variance.

Another technique is discriminant analysis. Discriminant analysis computes a linear combination of weighted predictor items in such a way that the mean scores do the best job of distinguishing the cases on the criterion variable. The discriminant analysis produced a correlation measure (the canonical correlation) and assigned cases to the criterion categories permitting a measure of accuracy of assigning. The weights show the relative contribution of each item to the prediction. These are also shown in Table 4.

The discriminant analysis of cases dismissed after arrest and booking permitted a significantly accurate assignment to the categories "dismissed" and "not dismissed" in 69 percent of the cases.

The variables contributing most to this modest level of explanation are threat to victim, whether defendant was under sentence or on bail when arrested and the offenses of assault and robbery. Ethnicity of defendant loaded considerably lower than the offense and offender background characteristics, as seen in Table 4. There

was no effect of ethnicity; inclusion of ethnicity did not raise the accuracy level.

Since the equation correctly accounts for 69 percent of cases, there are many exceptions to the above statements. For example, cases in which the defendant threatens victim are significantly less likely to be dismissed; however, of 187 defendants who made threats, 34 were dismissed nonetheless.

Conviction

A similar analysis was performed on remaining cases which were not dismissed, to construct a discriminant index to account for cases dropped or acquitted at trial.

First a stepwise regression analysis was done, using 243 cases remaining after the cases initially dismissed by police were removed from consideration. Of these 243 cases, 196 were dropped by the prosecutor or proceeded to trial and were acquitted. The remaining 142 were convicted, either on a plea of guilt or in some cases in trial. Here six variables were successively selected into the regression equation, building six major predictors, since the inclusion of the remaining 11 independent variables only raises the multiple correlation to .48. Among the first six variables which contribute the major explanatory power, two are ethnicity categories: Hawaiian and Samoan & other non-Asian local residents.

TABLE 5. Regression on CONVICTION

Variable	Beta	r	R	R^2
witness or evidence problem	-.239	-.281	.281	.080
victim and def. same ethnicity	-.127	-.147	.336	.113
offense: Assault	-.213	-.166	.368	.136
ethnicity: Hawaiian	.309	.171	.391	.153
ethnicity: Samoan, other local	.212	.148	.415	.173
offense: Attempted Murder	-.166	-.140	.428	.183

The discriminant analysis confirmed the regression analysis. A canonical correlation of .48 was calculated between a set of predictor variables and the dichotomy of Convict vs. drop or acquit, with the predictor weights shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. Discriminant Weights for CONVICTION

Variable	Weight
threats to victim	-.311
defendant on bail or probation at offense	-.405
offense: Assault	-.403
offense: Attempted Murder	-.202
ethnicity: Japanese, Chinese	.254
Haole	.211
Hawaiian	.741
Samoan	.456
Socio-economic status	-.174
witness or evidence problem	-.513
victim & def. same ethnicity	-.221

This index correctly assigned 72 percent of the cases to Convict vs. drop or acquit. Being Hawaiian or Samoan increases a defendant's chances of conviction to a small degree within the limited accuracy of our explanatory equation.

Sentencing and Ethnicity

The analysis of disposition of cases on the level of sentences imposed on convicted cases again used discriminant analysis. Of 145 cases convicted, 25 had at least one missing value on a variable in the set. The analysis was done on 120 cases.

There were twelve variables used in the discriminant analysis: six measures relating to offense, three relating to the defendant's prior criminal record, two relating to defendant's personal and social status, and one indicating whether the conviction had been on the basis of a plea of "not guilty" changed to "guilty."

The sentence imposed was classified as: prison, probation, jail (with or without probation) and fine, suspended sentence or deferred acceptance of guilty plea.

Sentence severity is higher for cases in which the victim is a stranger to the offender, where the victim is female, where the offense is murder or attempted murder, where the defendant has a prior juvenile court history, where there are prior adult convictions, where the defendant was on bail or probation at the time of the index arrest; sentences were more severe for offenses at the more serious felony levels. Table 7 displays the result of a stepwise analysis, producing two significant components of the discriminant and function.

TABLE 7. Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients for SENTENCE

Variable	Function I	Function II
Defendant on bail or probation at time of offense	.44	.04
injury to victim	.03	.41
victim is female	.62	-.23
victim known to defendant	-.80	.25
offense: robbery	.14	.69
rape	.12	.22
attempted murder	.29	-.32
murder	.68	-.35
ethnicity: Samoan	-.13	.40
socio-economic status	-.17	-.28
severity of charge on which convicted	.02	.47
Canonical correlation with sentence	.59	.46

Percentage of cases correctly assigned to 4 category measure of sentence = 56%.

It will be noted that the only ethnicity indicator to enter the equation is Samoan and it has a small coefficient. Ethnicity does not correlate to any important extent with sentence imposed.

Previous Studies

The complicated and politically relevant question of race of defendant and equity in case disposition has been studied elsewhere in the U.S. courts. Among the better quantitative studies are Burke and Turk (1975), Cohen and Kuegel (1978), Gibson (1978), Hindelang (1978), Jacob and Eisenstein (1975-76) and Lizotte (1978).

The trend in four of these papers is clear: it is hard to find evidence that the well-established disproportionality of ethnic minorities in arrest, conviction and prison rates is attributable to

differential treatment (racism in the law enforcement or justice systems); this may imply that currently the institutional effects of racism are in the communities more than the agencies: correlations of race with life chances, community resources, employment, education, family life.

Hindelang (1978) considers the question whether arrest data show discrimination of true differential crime rates. He concludes "most of racial disproportionality in arrest data is shown by victimization survey data to be attributable to the substantially greater involvement of blacks in the common law personal crimes of rape, robbery, and assault."

Burke and Turk (1975) using a long linear model in the analysis of joint effects of offense, defendant's age, race, occupational status, and prior incarceration record, find a correlation of more severe disposition with status, but this disappears when offense and priors are considered; race does not predict disposition when offense is controlled.

Jacob and Eisenstein (1976) find race of victim in combination with race of defendant correlates with conviction in a study in three cities. Whites accused of committing crimes against blacks are least often convicted, blacks accused of crimes against whites are more often convicted; intra-race offenses are in the middl

Gibson (1978) states that while aggregate agency data may show no net discrimination, the figures may conceal individual judge differences. He reports such variation among superior court judges in one county in Georgia.

Lizotte (1978) found race and occupation correlated with a combined measure of pretrial jail time plus final disposition. This measure thus includes bail and other pretrial release policy as well as sentence severity. Lizotte concludes class and race are palpable factors. However, because he includes pretrial jail as a sentence (a "cost" of being arrested, even if later acquitted) he cannot be directly compared with other studies, but the idea of using pretrial time is sound.

Cohen and Kluegel (1978) examining data in juvenile courts in Denver and Memphis find "little support for argument that race or class bias directly affect dispositions given juveniles in . . . court."

There are of course a number of other studies of the determinants of court sentencing (cited elsewhere in this paper). Two conclusions emerge from these studies: (a) the number of different factors affecting disposition of a criminal case is large; variables include characteristics of offense and victim, defendant's prior record, the personal and social characteristics of defendant and the strength of the prosecutor's case; (b) overall accuracy of prediction of disposition of the case is low, the contribution of ethnicity to this prediction is slight.

Conclusion

In this paper cases collected in Hawaii have been studied via discriminant analysis and cross tabular analysis to examine sentencing.

There is little question that arrest rates are strongly correlated with ethnicity. There is a disturbing statistical suggestion that ethnicity may also be correlated with conviction. We do not predict sentence very accurately. In the 1973 cases of arrests for violent crime there is little to substantiate a charge of major ethnic bias in sentencing. Simple bivariate tables show differences by ethnicity, but when offense and prior criminality are included these differences usually diminish. At present it is warranted to state that ethnic differences in life chances (education, family structure, community resources, employment, income) affect probability of juvenile and adult offenses. Offense and accumulated prior record affect sentencing. There is more pervasive racial discrimination outside the court than inside.

It should be recognized that this reflects in part a distinction in the penal code. Various offenses are dealt with differently in the penal code and in sentencing policy. Our society imposes confinement on offenses usually committed by poor people (burglary, robbery) and not on middle-class crimes causing heavy financial loss to victims (fraud, deceptive practices, malfeasance, embezzlement, anti-trust violations, etc.).

This selectivity penetrates even the conventional classification of offenses. It is common practice for example to disregard moving traffic law violations, even those compounded by drunkenness, in the count of crimes. Death and injury caused by drunken or reckless driving are excluded from the crime index, while shoplifting is counted. The effect is to tilt the delinquency crime statistics away from the middle class and in the direction of the lower class. Franklin Zimring has commented:

> . . . in narrowing the emphasis in this essay to those offenses publicly perceived as most serious, the biases reflected in public perception will influence not only the behaviors selected for analysis but also some of the apparent conclusions one might draw about violent youth criminality. Crimes of prey, such as robbery, are concentrated in urban areas, and the offender population is disproportionately composed of minority males. Lethal and criminal traffic "violence" is more widely distributed across the youth population. An analysis which focuses on the former will show much more substantial urban, race and class concentration than would result from a broader definition of violent criminality. (Zimring 1979:71)

These rather important qualifications must form the background of the conclusions of this analysis of arrest, prosecutorial and sentencing data in Honolulu: (1) as presently defined by statute and by police record categories, arrests for violent crime differ between various ethnic groups in Hawaii; (2) net of the effects of offense and prior criminal record, ethnicity does not appear to affect the likelihood of dismissal by the police; (3) there is some indication that ethnicity is correlated with the likelihood of conviction as opposed to acquittal or dropping of the case; (4) there is no evidence that ethnicity of the convicted person directly affects severity of sentence.

Thus in seeking an explanation and a remedy for the disproportionate number of minority local residents among those convicted and confined for violent crime, attention to social and economic correlates of ethnicity would seem to have higher priority than the search for significant bias in the criminal court.

Notes

*I wish to acknowledge the helpful criticisms of an earlier draft by Michael Hennessey and Shi Chang Wu.

The data drawn on in this paper are part of a study of violent crime in Honolulu done by Michael Keller (a journalist on the staff of the *Honolulu Advertiser*) and Gene Kassebaum. The main findings of that study are reported in a series of eleven articles by Michael Keller, *Honolulu Advertiser*, from 10 through 20 September, 1978. The Sociology Department, University of Hawaii, made the analysis possible by its allocation of resources for faculty research and graduate student training. The study was done with the support of departmental allocation from the University of Hawaii Computing Center. Several students in Journalism and in Sociology contributed work in coding, abstracting and cross checking agency files and criminal records. In particular, the time and talents of Martha Torney, Joan Ikamoto, Jennifer Kubota, Jenny Lee, Sharlene Lum, Betty Shimabukuro, Veronica Caalim, Jane Corley, Cynthia Kim, Justin Lee, Neil Okamoto and Lee Ann Williams were valuable. Social Science Research Institute provided typing services for two versions of the present reports.

1. The larger context of ethnic and class relations in Hawaii goes beyond the scope of this paper. On the pre-1960s, see Lind (1977), Nordyke (1977), and Peterson (1969). The history is admirably introduced by Daws (1974). A recent paper by Fenton (1978) discusses several of the complexities of ethnic conflict.

2. Applicants for the Public Defender's services in criminal prosecutions must make a detailed statement of finances; aside from this, there are no reliable indicators of economic status routinely available, and even this item would be missing on all those who retain their own counsel or are dismissed before they have any need to engage one.

3. The Forst (1977) study in Washington, D.C. shows however the crucial role of police. The police role of suspects is clearly not limited to apprehension. Police are important in prosecution itself since they are expected to "execute warrants for searches, seizures, arrests; make initial probable-cause determinations in arrests without warrants; inform arrestees of their rights and charges brought against them; identify and question lay witnesses, record names and addresses for prosecutor, provide information to prepare the witnesses for court appearance and testimony; arrange for investigation, question suspect, recover tangible evidence and examine in lab and bring arrests forward to prosecutor. If the prosecutor accepts case at screening, the officer is generally required to testify in court."

4. In this report, no use will be made of the repeat of offense data. A subsequent paper will discuss this topic. See Keller (1979) for a discussion of the question of repeat offenses in this sample.

5. According to data in the FBI Uniform Crime Reports, Hawaii has a low rate of violent crime. For the U.S. as a whole, using 1975 index crimes, the violent crime rate was 481.5 per 100,000 population. For Hawaii it was 218.4. Looking at 1974 data, Hawaii was 12 from the bottom (rank 38) of the fifty states on *violent* crime. All but one of those twelve states with lower violent crime rates are predominantly rural; Hawaii's population is 80 percent urban. Compared with twenty-two cities of 650,000 to 900,000 population, we are fifth from the bottom on *violent* crime. Honolulu's rate of 225 per 100,000 compared for example, with 608 for Birmingham, Alabama, 674 for Greensboro, North Carolina, 511 for Gary, Indiana, and 517 for Sacramento, California. Honolulu is thus not within sight of Chicago's 793 violent

crimes per 100,000, Detroit's 949 or New York with 1,307 violent crimes per 100,000 population. Early in 1979, FBI data indicated Honolulu had increased 36 percent in robbery since the previous year, a larger percentage than other cities of similar size in the U.S. The rate of robbery and other violent crime, however, remains lower than the national average.

6. One may divide the largest ethnic groupings into four types concerning arrest and victimization data:

   a. Japanese, Chinese, Korean:
   Both probability of arrest and of victimization are less than expected given relative size in population of State of Hawaii.

   b. Hawaiian:
   Probability of arrest higher than expected; probability of victimization lower than expected.

   c. Filipino:
   Arrest rate and victimization rate about proportional to size of Filipino portion of population.

   d. Caucasian:
   Arrest rate slightly lower, victimization rate much higher than expected from proportion of Caucasians in population.

7. See the Vera Institute and Forst studies for similar conclusions.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS OF YOUNG ASIAN AMERICAN BUSINESS PROFESSIONALS IN HAWAII

Lane Kelley and William Remus

Introduction

Most studies reporting income and employment characteristics of minority groups do not establish the controls necessary to see the influence of sex and ethnicity. The present study overcomes this by controlling for sex, education, age, and location. This research reports the comparative positions of Asian-Americans—Japanese and Chinese—and Caucasian young business professionals in Hawaii in terms of choice of business major, employment status, occupation, and location of employment. The data show the Caucasian males have the higher median income. However, it is not clear to what degree this results from discrimination or from the Japanese- and Chinese-Americans' significantly different choice of field of study, occupation, industry, or their very limited employment mobility.

In a 1977 study, Yee reported that the Japanese-Americans in California had achieved socio-economic parity with whites, while the Chinese-Americans have near parity. This was accomplished by higher educational achievement levels, more wage earners in each family, and a greater labor force participation rate than whites. Asian women between the ages of 20 and 24 are nationally the best educated; in a San Francisco-Oakland area study, 24 percent of white females, 28.3 percent of the Japanese-American women and 23 percent of the Chinese-American women were college graduates. In the same California study it was found that 50 percent of the white families had two wage earners compared to 60 percent of the Oriental families, which translate into a male labor force participation rate of white, 41.5 percent; Chinese, 51 percent; and Japanese, 49.6 percent. Family income had perhaps reached parity but more Oriental family members worked, had higher participation rates, more education, and also were more apt to be below the poverty level than whites. This makes it difficult to isolate the impact of culture. The purpose of the present study is to isolate the role of culture by exploring its relationship to occupational success. This is accomplished by holding a number of variables constant, including geographical area, educational achievement level, education, major, and age.

The Japanese-Americans and Chinese-Americans in Hawaii

Numerous studies have identified behavioral differences between the ethnic groups in the present study. A Honolulu sample of Japanese-Americans was compared to three generations of Seattle Japanese-Americans and the former were seen to be less ethnically identified than their Seattle counterparts (Matsumoto, Meredith, and Masuda, 1970). But another noted researcher, Kitano, has reported that the Japanese in Hawaii also retain more "Japanese ways" than their mainland counterparts because of a larger and more cohesive ethnic culture community (1962).

In a study of Japanese-American and Caucasian-American college students in Hawaii, Meredith reported that the *sansei* (third generation) appeared "more introverted, more anxious, closer in proximity to clinically-diagnosed neurotics, and lower in leadership potential than Caucasians" (1966). In another paper comparing Japanese-American and Caucasian-American college students, attitudes toward marriage roles indicated sex differences but non-significant ethnic effects (1977). Bartos and Kalish found that there was an under-representation in leadership by *sansei* males and greater-than-expected social participation and leadership by *sansei* females at the University of Hawaii (1961). Burma has also supported the idea of a "leadership crisis" among this ethnic group (1953).

Research in the early 1970's by Boyd (1971) and Young (1972) identified the unique characteristics of the Chinese in Hawaii. Boyd reported that, although the Chinese were initially imported as plantation laborers, when their labor contracts expired, many became very successful in commerce and trade. "They were so successful in their endeavors that within ten years of the first large immigration of Chinese laborers, 60 percent of the wholesale and retail merchandising establishments were operated by the Chinese" (1971:205). In comparison to New York and California Chinese, Boyd noted that the Chinese in Hawaii were much less likely to be employed in personal services, more apt to be a professional or

other white collar worker, and receive higher incomes than those received by Chinese in New York and California. Sociologists have stressed the assimilation of the Chinese in Hawaii, while at least one anthropologist has maintained that the Chinese in Hawaii are quite different from Caucasians—with the Chinese situation-centered in their personal and cultural orientation while the Caucasian is individual-centered (Yee, 1977). Young found that education was highly valued by the Chinese in Hawaii (1972). To the interview question, "What would you do if someone gave you $10,000 today?", education was the one item on which the largest percentage of the subjects would spend their money. That research also delved into the Hawaii Chinese values and strategy toward: (1) importance of goal setting; (2) respect for the individual; (3) importance of the family and a "good" job; and (4) priority of education and hard work. It was concluded that the values and strategies identified were highly compatible with the descriptions of first and second generation Japanese-Americans. This suggests a similarity between the educational values and strategies of the Japanese and Chinese samples of business students in the present study.

Method and Purpose

Hawaii is a natural laboratory for cultural research since it has such a varied national, racial, and ethnic population. No ethnic group has a simple majority. The population of the Islands in 1970 was approximately 33.5 percent Caucasian, 26.8 percent Japanese, 16.2 percent part-Hawaiian, 7.9 percent Filipino, 7.9 percent Chinese, 1.0 percent unmixed Hawaiian, 0.9 percent Korean, and 2.0 percent Samoan, other or unknown (Department of Geography, University of Hawaii,1973:104). The purpose of the present research is to compare the occupational success of Asian Americans to the Caucasian American young business professionals. The study design partially controls for educational background, mobility, industry in which employed, sex and age.

A survey of 1,237 graduates of the University of Hawaii College of Business Administration provides the data for the present study. It was initially our intention to analyze the comparative employment patterns for men and women in all groups; however, we were unable to obtain comparative data on men and women graduates over 28 years of age, since there were so few female graduates over 28. Consequently, this study focuses on comparative data for

graduates in the 22 to 28 years old age group (n=298). The survey questionnaire was mailed to about 3,000 graduates of whom 43 percent replied; no follow-up was made. The Bachelors of Business Administeration is generally considered to be a professional degree. We have, then, a sample that consists of individuals who, through choice of their major, business administration, imply motivation toward a career in administrative and other professional positions in business organizations.

The sample illustrates the heterogeneity of the state of Hawaii's population and that of its College of Business. Sixty-four percent was Japanese, 20 percent Chinese, 7 percent Caucasian, and just over 9 percent in other ethnic groups. The two Oriental samples were represented in the study by more than twice their proportion in the state population. These proportions continue at present with the typical business administration class consisting of over 60 percent students with Japanese surnames and approximately 20 percent Chinese surnames.

This sample included sufficient numbers to compare both Japanese and Chinese sexes but there were not enough responses by Caucasian females to be able to derive any conclusion about this particular group. The low representation of the female Caucasian group in the sample results from their present low enrollment in the College.

Results

Choice of Major

The choice of college major reflects different career tactics and interests among the different ethnic groups as shown in Table 1. Nearly 1/3 of the Chinese males and 41 percent of the Japanese males compared to only 19 percent of the Caucasian males majored in Accounting. On the other hand, Caucasian males preferred Management and Marketing much more than the Oriental males. Similarly, 38 and 40 percent, respectively, of the Chinese and Japanese females also chose Accounting (males choices, χ^2 = 35.52 with 27 d.f., sig. = 0.1261; female choices, χ^2 = 12.77 with 24 d.f., sig. = 0.9697).

Employment Status

An important element in career success is, of course, to be employed. The unemployment rates are

TABLE 1. Area of Specialization (expressed in percentages)

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other
Accounting	19.0	32.5	40.8	42.1	66.7	37.5	40.4	50.0
Finance	4.8	7.5	5.0	2.6	0.0	12.5	3.8	0.0
Business Economics & Stats.	4.8	20.0	9.5	7.9	0.0	12.5	21.2	0.0
Management	28.6	17.5	28.0	18.5	0.0	20.9	11.5	25.0
Marketing	28.6	12.5	10.1	15.8	16.7	8.3	11.5	0.0
Other	13.3	10.0	6.7	13.1	16.7	8.3	11.5	25.0
	n=21	n=40	n=179	n=38	n= 6	n=24	n=52	n=4

TABLE 2. Unemployment by Sex and Ethnic Group (expressed in percentages)

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other
Unemployed--looking for work	0.0	4.3	3.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0
Employed	92.3	91.3	87.4	76.7	66.7	86.2	86.5	50.0
Other	7.7	4.3	9.6	20.9	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed--Not looking	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	13.8	9.6	50.0
	χ^2 = 8.48, 6 d.f., sig. = .2053				χ^2 = 21.17, 9 d.f., sig. = .0119			

4 percent or below for all groups. Only 9 of 313 males reported that they were unemployed; while only 2 of 91 females reported that they were out of work. The ethnic groups' unemployment rates were also all very low, with the Chinese's 4.3 percent being the highest of the three ethnic groups (male, $\chi^2 = 8.48$ with 6 d.f., sig. = 0.2053; female, $\chi^2 = 21.17$ with 9 d.f., sig. = 0.0119. It should be noted that although the χ^2 indicates a level of significance between the women of different ethnic groups, each of their actual unemployment rates is extremely small.)

Salaries

The median annual earning of the males in the sample was $12,277 compared to about $10,000 for the females. Nationwide, females earn about 58 percent of what males earn. Overall the young professional females in this sample earned about 81 percent of the male median salary. As shown in Table 3, there were also other significant differences between the ethnic groups in the sample. Fifty percent of the male Caucasians reported earnings of $15,000 or above, compared to about 41 percent of the Chinese males and about 32 percent of the Japanese males. The "other" (Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Korean, and other groups) subsample reported about the same percentage as the Chinese males in the $15,000 or above salaries. These differences are statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 43.81253$ with 24 d.f., sig. = .0080). Eighty-two percent of the Chinese females earned less than $15,000 per year compared to approximately 90 percent of the Japanese females. Only one in five Caucasian females earned more than $15,000.

Budget responsibility corresponded to salary differences with 62 percent of the Japanese males, 52 percent of the Chinese males and 36 percent of the Caucasian males with budgets less than $100,000. Fifty percent of the Japanese and Chinese females reported budgets of under $100,000. It is interesting to note the similarities between the budget responsibilities of the male and female Asian Americans.

Occupation

The Oriental subsamples tended toward different occupations than the Caucasian sample as their choice of major might predict. The occupational categories are listed in Table 4. Caucasian females tended to be in accounting, managerial, or marketing positions. The percentages of Japanese-American and Chinese-

TABLE 3. Salary by Sex and Ethnic Group (expressed in percentages)

	MALE					FEMALE				
	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other		Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other	
Under $5,999	3.8	2.3	4.1	10.0		0.0	7.1	1.9	25.0	
$6,000 to $7,499	0.0	2.3	4.7	2.5		0.0	17.9	15.4	0.0	
$7,500 to $9,999	3.8	15.9	15.5	17.5		20.0	21.4	32.7	50.0	
$10,000 to $14,999	42.3	38.6	44.0	30.0		60.0	35.7	40.4	25.0	
$15,000 to $19,999	7.7	22.7	19.2	32.5		20.0	14.3	5.8	0.0	
$20,000 to $24,999	23.1	9.1	8.8	2.5		0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	
$25,000 to $29,999	3.8	4.5	2.1	2.5		0.0	3.6	1.9	0.0	
$30,000 Plus	11.5	0.0	1.6	2.5		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Don't Know/Varies	3.8	4.5	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	

$\chi^2 = 43.8$, 24 degrees of freedom, sig. = .000

American females employed in accounting and analyst positions were correspondingly high like their male counterparts with the Japanese-American females registering 26 percent and the Chinese-Americans 36 percent. Of significant importance was that 38 percent of the Japanese-American females and 21 percent of the Chinese-Americans were in clerical positions and, conversely, only 11 percent of the Chinese-American females were in managerial positions. This compares to 16 percent of the Chinese-American males in management positions and 24 percent of the Japanese-American males. The clerical positions were dominated by females and the management positions by males. Both the Oriental female groups have not penetrated the marketing profession, with less than 2 percent of their sample represented in the Sales profession (χ^2 = 12.77, with 24 d.f., sig. = 0.9697).

TABLE 4. Occupational Categories

Accounting	Managers & Supervisors
Analyst and research	Marketing
Administrative Specialist	Military
Buyer-Purchasing	Self-Employed
Banking & Finance	Personnel & Industrial Rel.
Clerical	Planner
Communications	Research
Computer Service	Sales
Construction	Technician
Education	Transportation
Engineering	Other
Law Enforcement & Protection	Medicine
	Social Services

Significant differences were noted as Oriental males tended to be employed as accountants and analysts and Caucasians as managers. Just over 30 percent of the Chinese-American and Japanese-American male graduates were in accounting or working as an analyst which differs with the Caucasian and "others," 11 and 10 percent respectively. This reverses within the managers and supervisor category with 35 percent of the Caucasians presently employed as managers compared to only 24 percent of the Japanese-Americans and 16 percent of the Chinese-Americans. Approximately 5 percent of the male Japanese-Americans reported that they were in clerical positions, compared to 2.3 percent of the Chinese-Americans and none of

the Caucasians. Eleven percent of the Caucasians were self-employed compared to only 2 percent of the Japanese-Americans and none of the Chinese-Americans were in the category of self-employment (χ^2 = 33.17 with 18 d.f., sig. = 0.0159, male ethnicity by occupational category).

Industry

The subjects in our study took jobs in numerous industries. Seventy percent of the Japanese-American males, 53 percent of the Chinese males and 64 percent of the Caucasian males were in private industry. Approximately one of five Chinese-Americans and Japanese-American males were employed in the public sector. This corresponds to the experience of the female Chinese and Japanese. Seventy-two percent of the Chinese-American females were in private industry and 63 percent of the Japanese-Americans. About 20 percent of the two female groups were also in the public sector. The significant differences shown in Table 5 seem to be in the Oriental groups' choice of government employment versus the Caucasian's stronger choice of military and self-employment (males, χ^2 = 33.17 with 18 d.f., sig. = 0.0159; females, χ^2 = 12.77 with 24 d.f., sig. = 0.9697).

Location

Location of employment was significantly different among the males of the different ethnic groups. As shown in Table 6, 96 percent of the Chinese males stayed on the island of Oahu (Honolulu), followed by 89 percent of the Japanese-Americans and 50 percent of the Caucasian-Americans. Only 15 percent of the Caucasians, 10 percent of the Japanese and no Chinese-Americans were employed on the Neighbor Islands. Forty-four percent of the Caucasian-American males were working out of state compared to only 4 percent of the Chinese-American males and 6 percent of the Japanese males (χ^2 = 40.65 with 9 d.f., sig. = 0.000).

The mobility of the females was very similar; 93 percent of the young Japanese females and 96 percent of the Chinese females were employed within the state. Five of the only six Caucasian females were also still within this area (χ^2 = 4.60 with 9 d.f., sig. = 0.8631).

Discussion

The present study vividly describes different success patterns of two Asian American groups in Hawaii—

TABLE 5. Employment by Industry (expressed in percentages)

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other
Private Industry	56.0	44.4	64.1	56.1	66.7	62.1	55.6	75.0
Tourist Industry	8.0	8.9	5.1	7.3	16.7	10.3	7.4	25.0
Government	4.0	22.2	20.5	12.2	16.7	20.7	18.5	0.0
Military	12.0	4.4	1.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0
Non-Profit Organization	4.0	8.9	3.1	12.2	0.0	0.0	7.4	0.0
Self-Employed	16.0	6.7	3.6	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	0.0	4.4	2.6	2.4	0.0	6.9	7.4	0.0
	χ^2 = 33.17, 18 d.f., sig. = .0159				χ^2 = 12.77, 24 d.f., sig. = .9697			

TABLE 6. Employment by Location (expressed in percentages)

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other
Oahu	50.0	95.7	89.3	82.9	83.3	93.1	87.3	100.0
Neighbor Island	15.4	0.0	5.1	9.8	0.0	3.4	5.5	0.0
U.S. Mainland	30.8	2.2	4.6	4.9	16.7	3.4	3.6	0.0
Foreign Country	3.8	2.2	1.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0
	χ^2 = 40.65, 9 d.f., sig. = .0000				χ^2 = 4.6, 9 d.f., sig. = .8631			

the Chinese-American and the Japanese-American. Previous articles on Japanese Americans have identified education as a tool for career preparation and small business as a popular endeavor for Japanese.

The composition of this study's sample and the present composition of the student body of the College of Business Administration support the importance that these two ethnic groups place on higher education for career preparation. Both groups' enrollment in the College of Business Administration is over twice its proportion in the general population. The important question would seem to be whether this particular strategy has been successful and how career experiences have varied. If the areas of specialization are differentiated into whether the emphasis is quantitative or verbal, the male Oriental subsamples tend to specialize in the quantitative areas. Over 40 percent of these two samples chose accounting and business economics/statistics. This perhaps is a reflection of their past success and achievement. In elementary and high school academic achievement tests, Orientals in Hawaii score higher on quantitive skills than verbal skills. The same pattern holds true for the two samples of Oriental females. Another plausible factor is that the work of, for example, an accountant is more complementary to the cultural behavioral patterns of the individuals than those required to be a marketing representative or a real estate broker.

If the criterion of success for these two Oriental groups is employment, education has been successful. At the time of this study, the unemployment rate in Hawaii was in excess of 7 percent. The only unemployment in the sample was the Chinese and Japanese males at 4.3 and 3.0 percent and the Japanese females at 3.8 percent. Given that labor economists consider full employment to be an unemployment rate of 4 percent, all groups can be considered to be successful in obtaining employment. Other qualifying factors are not as positive.

The Oriental subsamples have a very strong tendency to remain in Hawaii and on Oahu, which means very restrictive job market boundaries and opportunities. Since salaries for Bachelor degrees in Hawaii are slightly below comparable Mainland salaries, the differences in salaries are partially explained. The highest median salary was earned by Caucasian males, which was approximately $1,500 more than the median figure for the two male Oriental subsamples. The male Oriental median income, furthermore, is higher than the two Oriental female subsamples by approximately $3,500. Since over 90 percent of the Oriental sample—both male and female—remained in Hawaii, the type of industries offers insight for the differences between sexes. Both Oriental male subsamples were more apt to take government jobs and less apt to be self-employed than their Caucasian counterpart. The only significant differences in choice of industries between the sexes was the self-employed category. One of twenty male graduates was self-employed, but no females had their own business.

Previous research articles have concluded that male Japanese-Americans had reached earning parity with Caucasians, while Chinese males had attained a median of 74.7 percent (Jiobu, 1976). Data from the 1970 California Public Use Sample also indicate that the Japanese-Americans have achieved socio-economic parity with whites, while Chinese-Americans have near parity (Young, 1972). That conclusion is not supported by the reported income and their differences in the present study. The male Caucasian, who is seemingly more mobile and more apt to be self-employed, has a higher median income than the other male subsamples. Income parity is not present between males nor between sexes although it appears that education does close the income gap somewhat between sexes.

In a recent article, Jiobu concluded that "Asian Americans have achieved substantial gains and appear to be exceptions to the traditional argument that prejudice and discrimination by the majority retard the socio-economic achievements of the minority" (1976:28). If Jiobu's test of equality is equal income for equal jobs, his position must be qualified. Education is closing the income and employment differences, but even in Jiobu's study there was unequal education and "equal" pay. The present study indicates "equal education" and unequal pay, and suggests that this difference starts before employment with the student's choice of major, location of employment and type of industry.

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CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE UNION ACTIVITY OF WOMEN IN HAWAII*

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Hawaii, the ultimate vacation site, belies its image of tropical indolence for the people who must make their living here. The typical family in Hawaii has two breadwinners. It has always been so, but in the last thirty years this trend has accelerated. No other state has such a high proportion of women workers. In 1975, 51.5 percent of Hawaii women sixteen years or older were working or seeking work. The national rate was 45.9 percent (Kautz, 1976:i).**

Why do so many women work in Hawaii? The answer is simple: they have to. Even before inflation escalated prices, the cost of living was much higher than on the mainland, because so many essential things must be imported. The development of the sugar and pineapple plantations was at the cost of a diversified agriculture that might have made the islands more nearly self-sustaining. Housing and real estate are prohibitively expensive because of the limited amount of acreage, the need to import building materials, the antiquated leasehold system whereby huge estates retain perpetual control of the best land, and, to compound the problem, an ever-expanding population. All things put together, there is no way most families can make it if the wife doesn't work.

The catch is that even when she does work, the family still has a hard time, because the other side

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**According to the librarian at the State Department of Labor Research Section, no analysis of the work force has been made since the report here cited. In 1975. The next report, utilizing figures from the 1980 census, will not be published until 1982.

of the high cost of living in Hawaii is the low average of wages. This, too, is a long-standing part of the Hawaii scene. The Islands' economy was built on immigrant contract labor which in some ways resembled the system of slavery. As late as 1939 a male sugar mill worker received only 28-1/2 cents an hour, or $2.12 a day (Murin, 1950:5). Female workers have always been paid less than men, and this inequity continues despite unionization, legal mandates, and affirmative action programs. The 1970 census indicated that on the Island of Oahu, which has the largest concentration of population, 65 percent of the women employed work as sales or office clerks or in service jobs (such as waitresses, seamstresses, or house and office cleaners) and that they earn from 32.3 to 47.6 percent less than men doing the same type of work (Honolulu Office of Human Resources, 1973).

So Hawaii women work, in large numbers; they are underpaid, concentrated in low-level jobs, and discriminated against on the basis of sex. Plainly, they need some form of organization to advance their interests. It is nearly forty years since unions became a force in the Islands. How have the unions served women?

Women in Unions

One would think that when a labor organization comes into a workplace where many women work, gender differences would be blotted out by the larger similarity in the bonding among a group of workers allied in common interest against their employer. If union organization were a totally new concept just taking place today, we would expect, would we not, to see working women involved in active organizing, speaking at meetings, taking leadership, serving on committees, being elected to office? Why did it not happen that way? I do not mean to imply that unionization in Hawaii was an all-male show. There were and there are today many union women who were strong leaders. But the fact is that, with the exception of a few organizations, women are not represented at leadership levels in their unions to any significant degree.

Among those unions which have a mixed membership, only two, the Postal Employees Union and the Hawaii State Teachers Association, have women presidents. The I.L.W.U., one of the first of the unions to organize women—and an organization which prides itself in being in the forefront of social progress—hires women organizers only on a short-term basis during organizing drives. All of the business agents and international

representatives of that union are male, although recently women have been hired temporarily to replace regular business agents who are on leave. They have one woman on the local executive board and one woman on the Board of Trustees. In addition, they send one woman observer to the International Executive Board meetings. The United Public Workers (UPW), which is perhaps the best of the mixed unions, has six full-time paid staff members (business agents) who are women. For more than twenty years now the UPW has had women on their State Executive Board, women unit chairpersons, and division officers. Nevertheless, even in this union, the top officers—division chairmen—tend to be men, and men outnumber women on the Executive Board. In the other unions, there is an occasional woman business agent to service units with mostly female workers. But except in the all-female fields such as nursing, the unions are securely in the leadership of men.

It would be useful to know why this is so. The situation is not much different from that on the mainland, where women union members may be active on unit and local levels but are rarely seen beyond that. Many of the explanations that are put forward to account for women's low level of union activity in mainland unions would be applicable to Hawaii also. But the very different historical background and ethnic population of the islands suggest strongly that other factors might be at work here.

The lines of inquiry in my research on the problem can be summarized by four basic questions:

1. Are certain ethnic groups likely to be more interested in unions than others?

2. Do the women who emerge as union leaders tend to come from one or two particular ethnic groups?

3. Could there be cultural determinants at work which affect the level of interest which a particular woman may have in union activity? and finally,

4. Do the personal backgrounds of the local women who have become strong union leaders provide any clue to such motivation?

In the fall of 1977 I began to elicit information, through personal interviews, letters, and questionnaires, about women's participation in unions. Some of the women I talked with have been my personal friends for as long as twenty-five years. This paper

represents a preliminary report on research that is still going on. It is based on the responses of the first group of fifty women, all of the UPW (United Public Workers) or the ILWU (International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union). I was particularly interested in determining whether certain ethnic groups might be more likely to be interested in unions than others, and whether the women union leaders tend to come from one or two particular ethnic groups.

Effect of Ethnicity on Union Participation

The idea of tracing everyday practical decisions and activity to racial or ethnic behavior patterns may seem farfetched, particularly to those who live in homogenous communities. It is true that under the leveling effect of American culture, national characteristics tend to become less and less distinguishable. As early as 1912, observers noted a marked difference between the first-generation immigrants and their children who had been born in Hawaii and gone to American schools (Blascoer, 1912:3). Nevertheless, each ethnic group in the population has been identified by certain character traits, real or imaginery. Such stereotyping of immigrants was common on the mainland, too, but the tensions among groups were sharper here because of the manner in which Hawaii was populated. The Caucasians who began to come to the Islands early in the nineteenth century took over moral leadership by converting the native Hawaiians to Christianity and soon gained possession of the bulk of the land. The sugar plantations which they developed required thousands of workers. As the Hawaiians did not take to this work, foreign laborers were brought in—at first, Chinese men, then, between 1878 and 1900, Portuguese. These were followed by Japanese and Korean contract laborers. Whereas the Chinese came without wives, and often returned to China, the Portuguese and the Japanese came with their wives or sent for them later. Some Oriental women came alone, preferring field work in Hawaii to the despair of being a concubine in a land where women were considered worthless. Many Japanese and Korean laborers sent home for "picture brides" to share their lives and raise families. Due to this, and to the steady arrival of more male laborers, the Japanese soon became a major element in the population. The last great incoming group was the Filipinos. Like the Chinese in the early period, most of these were single men or married men who had left their wives and children in the Philippines, intending to return some day. However, a considerable number of Filipino women have come to the Islands.

Each of these groups lived in separate communities —there was on each plantation a Japanese camp, a Portuguese camp, a Filipino camp, and so on. They could not speak each others' language, and so the Island pidgin was developed. Naturally, there was distrust, and certain races looked down on others. The first strikes and attempts at unionization were organized on racial lines. The planters continued to use one group against another. For example, in 1902, a U.S. Labor Commissioner said, "During the year ending June 30, 1901, the regular arrival of monthly expeditions of Puerto Rican laboring people throughout an entire year largely disabused [the Japanese] and made them much more reasonable in their relations with their employers." It was only natural that the strike-breaking of those who were newly imported did not endear them to the other laborers who were trying to improve their conditions. In every one of these struggles, the workers lost and had to go back to work on the employers' terms. But the lessons taught by racial disharmony had been learned. When the big wave of labor organization swept the Islands between 1943 and 1945, it was on the principle of one union for all races. All ethnic groups worked together. The ILWU started with the longshoremen, and took in the sugar and pineapple workers in 1945. Unionism, which had been considered "a violent breach of local mores" (Aller, 1958:221) in the twenties and thirties, was now a solid reality in Hawaii.

On the plantations, some women worked in the fields, although only during certain seasons. They were always a small number, about 6.1 percent of the total number of employees in 1939 (Shoemaker, 1940:56). They did planting, and some of the lighter work in cultivating, fertilizing, or gleaning the fields at harvest time. These were called the "hoe hana women," which means "women who work with the hoe." There were a handful of these women still working in 1960, when a group of them was interviewed and photographed for a newspaper feature. In the early days, they wore kimonos, with wooden *gettas* or clogs on their feet, straw hats on their heads, heavy scarves wrapped around their necks and heads to keep out the sun and insects. The women who were hired to work felt themselves privileged, even though it meant getting up before dawn, working very hard all day, and then in the late afternoon going back home to cook, wash, scrub, iron, sew, and take care of the children. Pregnant women worked until just before the baby was due, and some babies were born in the field. The mother usually had to go back to work in a day or two after the birth. Many mothers worked

with their babies strapped to their backs. One of the demands in the great sugar strike of 1919 was for paid maternity leave of two weeks before and six weeks after birth. (That was one of the strikes that was broken because the union at that time was a racial one.) The Japanese and Korean women worked only if they had male family members also working on the plantation. In the early days there used to be some work gangs that were 100 percent female, but over the years the plantations phased women out of this work.

One of these women had her picture in a labor newspaper with a short story about her, in 1953. She was the champion cane cutter on one of the largest sugar plantations; she produced more than men on piece-work, said the article. She was also

> a militant union member who has time and time again been elected steward of her field gang. She is outspoken and fights for workers' rights. She attends union meetings and occasionally she takes the floor. She speaks better in Japanese. She is an older second-generation who bridges the years between contract laborer and today's unionists. She and her son are both active in their Olaa ILWU unit. (*Honolulu Record*, August 6, 1953, p. 34)

For all their hard work, women were paid a good deal less than men. In 1939, by law women were supposed to receive a minimum average wage of not less than 75 percent of that paid to men. That would be, at that time, $1.05 a day (Shoemaker, 1940:56). This same situation prevailed in the pineapple industry. Philip Brooks, who sat on the management's side in the union negotiations in 1946, compared different job rates as follows:

> Hourly rates for the male jobs on plantations were uniformly 15 cents lower than the corresponding rate in the canneries. Rates for female jobs were assigned only to the first seven labor grades and were uniformly 10 cents lower than the rate for male jobs in the same labor grade in the canneries; on the plantations, rates for female jobs were 5 cents below those for male jobs in the same labor grade. (1952:125)

The surprising thing is that these wage differentials between men and women continued for a long time. In the 1946 pineapple contract that came as a result of the union negotiations, there were nine agreements, none of which mentioned or affected the differential between male and female wages (Brooks, 1952:8, 127). There seems to have been no demand for equalization. In every wage struggle, the demand was for an

increase in the hourly rate, leaving the relative differences intact. When questioned about this, women unionists today admit that it did not occur to them, even in the forties and fifties, to ask for equal pay for equal work, although now there is general agreement on this subject. There was a strong cultural bias against such a development, a feeling that a woman shouldn't earn as much as a man. This derived from the concept that men are primary breadwinners and have the support of a family as their responsibility, whereas women are secondary wage earners "helping out" or working for "pin money."

This attitude was most prevalent among the Japanese women, but it was evident in women of other ethnic backgrounds as well. It is still heard today from women who give it as an excuse why they do not need a union in their place of work. It is, of course, more emotional than logical, because some men do not have families to support, and some women do. Despite the rhetoric, employees' wages are determined not by their needs, but by the rates set for a particular job.

On the plantations, the great majority of the laborers' wives, the ones who were not themselves working, joined the ILWU Women's Auxiliary. The story of those auxiliaries is extremely interesting, but too long to relate in detail here. The women organized themselves, recruited their neighbors, and supplied the staying power for the many months that their men were on strike. They ran soup kitchens, in some cases feeding as many as 3,000 persons a day. They marched on picket lines with the men and sometimes formed their own picket lines. The ILWU men I have talked with are quite frank about the crucial role the auxiliaries played in the development of their union. Feminists today are likely to belittle the unions' "ladies' auxiliaries" on the grounds that their organizations were purely supportive of men's interests, and that women would have done better to push their own interests. But this is to overlook the tremendous change that activity in the auxiliary brought to those women. I think it would be safe to say that very few of those women were ever the same again. The experience of participating in a strike, volunteering and carrying out jobs, talking to other people and working with others, and most of all, going to meetings and speaking, all this caused them to grow, to develop, to become aware of their own relation to the larger world. They were in effect emancipated from the small, confining circles of their domestic life.

One of the factors at work in the plantation situation was the Oriental feeling that wives should behave in accordance with their husbands' interests. In this case, the husbands were union activists, and they were very anxious that their wives be friendly to the union. In the early 1950s, when the UPW was organizing hospitals and government workers, it quite often happened that a husband and wife might be working at the same place, or that the husband might be a government worker in one place and his wife a hospital worker somewhere else. A survey I made showed that when the husband was a union member—either ILWU or UPW—the wife was very likely to also join the union in her shop. This is in fact one of the reasons for the vitality of the UPW, and for the high level of female active participation in that union. When the husband is a union member, he will not object to, and he will probably encourage, his wife's joining a union, too.

But sometimes there is a conflict. If the wife works in a place that is being unionized, and if her husband is antagonistic to unions, or even indifferent to her joining, she is less likely to become a member. And if she does join, seeing the obvious benefits, she may simply pay her dues, but never attend meetings or take responsibilities in the organization. This influence seems to be stronger in the affirmative case —when the husband is a believer in unionism. This factor seems to be the same along all the ethnic groups.

Typing whole nationalities or races on the basis of personal experience or hearsay was common in the early part of this century. Contrary to the widely-held notion that Hawaiians are lazy and indolent, Blascoer found in 1912 that managers of canneries and laundries had no difficulty in securing Hawaiian "girls"; their advertisements for help always brought in more applicants than there were jobs. The Hawaiians had a pride, a strong sense of their personal dignity, that the employer had to reckon with. An observer who interviewed many employers in 1912 reported that "Hawaiian girls and women would just quit and change jobs because pay envelopes had been short several hours time, in spite of the fact that in every case the mistake had been corrected when called to the foreman's attention." And again, speaking of Hawaiian teen-age females she observed—"Although limping painfully after a week of standing from seven in the morning until seven or eight at night—often their first experience with any sort of occupation—they stoutly maintained that they were not tired."

Japanese women, who still wore kimonos at this time, worked without complaint and strove to please their employers. For a long time (and to this day) they were considered the best women for household employment because they were "quiet, scrupulously neat and clean in appearance," and seemed to enjoy, or at least not to mind, housecleaning and kitchen work (Dranga, 1936:12). They worked also in garment shops, mostly in the heavier tailoring work such as sailors' uniforms and work suits, shirts, and plantation work outfits.

There is another aspect of Japanese culture that had a bearing on the employer-employee relationship—the custom of deference toward someone who is in a position of authority, who is older, wealthier, more powerful, and male. It also implies loyalty toward one's employer, clan, or other organization. This pattern of behavior is highly valued by the Japanese, and although Americanization has modified it to some extent, it still distinguishes the Japanese. Dr. Abe Arkoff conducted a survey of this phenomenon among University of Hawaii students in 1964, comparing Japanese, American, and Japanese-American women, and found that on the behavior rating scale he had constructed, Japanese-American women in Hawaii are high in deference (Arkoff, 1964). This quality of deference is of course much appreciated by the employer.

The Chinese women, who in 1912 still wore blue cotton pants and smocks, their black hair swinging in a long pigtail, were considered highly desirable employees, quick, intelligent, and hard-working. They were also ambitious and as quickly as they could, they moved up into clerical and technical jobs.

Portuguese women appear to have been of two contrasting types. Those who came from Portugal often worked in dressmaking shops, where they were in demand because of the fine needlework they had learned in the Old Country. Perhaps because they were homesick, they were described as "reserved and melancholy" (Blascoer, 1912:48). The other type, which came to predominate as the Portuguese became settled in Hawaii, was characterized by volubility, curiosity about other people and a love of gossip, liveliness, and a quick temper. They were noisier, less restrained, and more openly emotional than the Orientals. Because they were gregarious and friendly, they were considered best when they met the public in jobs such as sales clerking.

The personal values of the women in various ethnic groups affected their attitudes to their jobs. The Japanese were likely to have long-range goals, almost

invariably connected with saving up for the purchase of a house, and the college education of their sons. A typical Japanese woman would view her job as a necessary part of the family's striving for this goal. She would be philosophical about the job's disagreeable aspects and would not be likely to do anything that might jeopardize it. Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Chinese women, on the other hand, would be working for current needs, without long-range goals, and to them the conditions of the job where they spent their days would be much more important.

When I asked union leaders (men and women) whether these cultural traits had any effect upon organizing drives in the formative stage of a union, most of them said ethnicity was a factor, but not the decisive one. One UPW official said that some of the resistance to the UPW among the school cafeteria workers stemmed from their loyalty to the labor organization which they then had. Although this organization, which did not even call itself a union, included supervisors and managers and did very little for the workers, these women, most of them Japanese, thought that they "ought to" remain in it, even while they privately criticized it. They eventually transferred this loyalty to the UPW.

The same question must, of course, be asked concerning male workers: were any ethnic groups easier, or harder, to organize than others? As far as the limited data from union records can tell us, this was not a factor at all in recruiting men. The considerations there were quite different. Men were interested in knowing what the union could do for them, and what the risks were. That there could not have been anything in any of the ethnic cultures that would be antithetical to unionism is proven by the early labor organizations which were purely ethnic in character.

I asked then what were the reasons most commonly given by women to explain why they did not want to join a union. The answers I received are imprecise, because they relate to things that had happened between twenty and forty years ago, and no written records or notes had been made. Still, many organizers seemed to remember quite well, perhaps because this activity of building a union and approaching fellow workers to ask them to join was such an entirely new thing in their lives that it made a deep impression.

Some women workers were, simply, afraid of the boss. They needed the job and couldn't risk being

fired. (In the early days, the unions couldn't guarantee that this would not happen.) Some were afraid because they had read in the newspapers that the unions were communistic. One woman, who later became one of the strongest UPW members, confessed that she held out for several weeks before joining, because she was certain that a group of her very dear friends, who had joined, were going to be arrested and sent to jail for being UPW members. This was in the McCarthy period. Almost all of those who gave this reason, however, changed their minds when they saw that no one was going to jail for union activity, and when they began to see the benefits of union membership. Some women said they couldn't afford the dues. This was one of the easiest arguments to refute, according to the organizers. Some women said they wouldn't join because their husbands told them not to. The organizers often heard women say, "I wouldn't feel comfortable in a meeting with all those men." One common excuse was, "Oh, I'm just working for pin money, so I don't need a union." This was likely to be a face-saving device by which the woman pretended that being underpaid wasn't important to her because her husband was making more.

On reflection, it will be seen that most of these statements *are* culturally rooted. Tom Yagi, the Maui Division Director of the ILWU, discussing this at a seminar on the status of women which was conducted by the union in 1972, made no bones about it. He said: "When you try to organize women and they tell us these things, then you begin to realize how much harm is done to us by cultural habits which make women feel inferior or subservient" (Yagi, 1972). Many years before, Theresa Wolfson had said much the same thing:

> The linking of the woman to her home has undoubtedly assured the perpetuation of the family, but it has at the same time created a state of introversion, an interest in her immediate surroundings and herself, which forms a real obstacle to any attempts at trade union organization when the woman enters the industrial field. (Wolfson, 1926:20)

Females were trained from little girlhood to "think small," to keep the domestic circle as the center of their lives and interests, to leave weighty subjects like politics and economics to the menfolks. When they went out to work, it was supposed to be only for a few years, until they married and started having babies. The fact that so many of them kept returning to the work force, in between babies and after, escaped notice. The myth of wives working for pin money has been long a-dying. It forms such an excellent

rationale for the wage differential between men and women, which in Hawaii, according to the 1970 census, resulted in women being paid from 32 to 47 percent less than men doing the same type of work (Honolulu Office of Human Resources, 1973).

Characteristics of Union Leaders

Once a union was organized in a plant or establishment, how did the women respond to it? Who were the leaders? I asked these questions in an effort to learn whether certain ethnic groups were more likely than others to produce leaders. Much more research needs to be done before anything like definitive answers can be given, but I shall summarize the trends that emerge from my interviews.

There was no ethnic group that did not produce some strong union women leaders. In each place, the quality of the union activists was related to the individuals in the work unit. It seems to be very much a matter of personality. The shop steward is likely to be a woman who is competent in her work, who is liked and respected by the other workers.

What caused a woman to accept the responsibility of a union position or assignment? The answers to this must be considered along with the reasons given for women *not* being active, because they form the other side of the picture. One feature that almost all of the leaders share, and most of all, those who hold higher office than shop steward or unit leader, is the ability to speak up at a meeting. Here, ethnic background has something to do with the matter. Portuguese women and part-Hawaiian women tend to be very effective speakers; they are self-confident and forceful. Japanese women are more likely to hold back, to say little at meetings. The first-generation workers also had a problem with the English language.

The shyness of women who did not speak was accentuated by the presence of the male union members at the meetings. This had, and continues to have, an inhibiting effect upon the women members. At the many union meetings I attended, it was always the men who dominated the discussion. This, again, is a trait that cuts across all ethnic lines.

The women who accepted leadership were those with abundant energy. They certainly needed it, because most of the jobs that women did were extremely tiring, many requiring them to be on their feet all day, and

the hours were long. Being an officer meant making trips to the union hall and spending several hours at meetings, or working on union projects. Conversely, the reason women most often gave (and still do) for not being active was lack of free time. One hospital worker who had been an officer, explained why she no longer was:

> I haven't been because I have been having my children with me. They take up my time so I felt I shouldn't. There are too many meetings you have to make.

This woman was still helping whenever the union called for volunteers, as for getting out mailings.

This is a problem that is similar for every organization. It is the problem of the double burden of the woman worker who is also a wife and a mother. Even when the children are old enough to take care of themselves, even when there are only the husband and wife at home, it is still a great burden to keep the household running, to shop and get meals and all the hundred and one things that have to be done. Husbands may help, but the responsibility for the house is tacitly regarded as being the wife's. It is small wonder that she is just too tired to go out again in the evening to a union meeting.

Some women say that their husbands don't want them to run for union office—they don't want their wives going out to meetings at night, or they think it will take too much of the wife's time.

We keep coming back to *men*. Do they really want women to be active in the unions? They would be hard pressed to prove it. Why are there so few women business agents, presidents, directors, union newspaper editors, contract negotiators? Why are there so few of them on local executive boards, and fewer still at the upper levels of the international executive boards and top leadership? Union men, when questioned, will tell you that women do not run for these elections; the implication is that they could be elected if they did—that the women do not want the responsibilities of those jobs. Well, perhaps. But some aggressive encouragement of potential women leaders on the part of the men unionists might bring about a surprising change. If women were sure that they were wanted and needed by the organization, as leaders and paid staff people, as well as dues-paying rank and file members, many more would be willing to run for office and apply for union positions.

The labor movement will have to face up to this problem of recruiting women for leadership in the very near future. Union membership is declining, and employers are spending enormous sums to forestall organization of their employees. Unionism has not done a good enough job for women. Yet organization is the key to higher wages, a fair promotions policy, and job security. If women workers, in their new sensitivity to male put-downs, turn away from unionism, it will be unfortunate for them and also for the unions on which they turn their backs.

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SEX ROLES IN HAWAII: STRUCTURE AND DIMENSIONS*

Libby O. Ruch

Sex roles can be conceptualized as sets of characteristics which are expected of individuals because of their biological sex. For example, women are expected to be nurturant, intuitive, emotional and passive, while men are instrumental, intellectual, athletic, and aggressive. In other words, men are expected to be *masculine* and women to be *feminine*. As observed by Chafetz (1978) and others, sex roles define a great deal about us (i.e., the expectational sets have many elements), including our intellectual, emotional, physical, and behavioral characteristics. Although some variation occurs sub-culturally, cross-culturally, and over time in the *particular* traits associated with feminity and masculinity (Barnard, 1971), sex role stereotypes consistently portray the sexes as being totally opposite in most respects (Chafetz, 1978). Moreover, despite significant pressures for change from feminist and other social forces, studies (Broverman et al., 1972; Weitzman, 1975) show that many individuals continue to hold and conform to such different expectations for women and men.

Although it is theoretically possible to have social roles which are different but equal, research (e.g., Broverman et al., 1972; McKee and Sheriffs, 1957; Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979) consistently indicates that the sex roles for women and men are *not* equally valued, with masculine characteristics accorded higher social desirability and status than feminine characteristics. Thus, there exists sex role stratification as well as sex role differentiation.

Bem (1975) has suggested that while many individuals do play such sex-typed roles, social attributes may be conceptualized more meaningfully as masculine, feminine, or androgynous. Androgynous persons are not restricted to the personality traits traditionally expected of their gender but rather combine both masculine and feminine characteristics in their role sets. An example might be a woman who is nurturant and warm with children, yet clear-thinking and assertive in occupational situations, or a man who is both a competent scientist and enjoys being a gourmet cook.

Bem (1974) has criticized psychological scales which categorize individuals as masculine *or* feminine and has developed the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) to measure androgyny as well as masculinity and feminity. Bem's work in turn has stimulated a growing research tradition dealing with androgyny (see, for example, the entire 1979 issue of *Psychology of Women Quarterly*) and methodological critiques of the BSRI (e.g., Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979).

Despite the remarkable expansion of the literature available on sex roles in recent years (for reviews of this literature, see Hochschild, 1973; Ruble, Freize, and Parsons, 1976), research on sex roles in Hawaii has been surprisingly absent. Yet, Hawaii is potentially an excellent research site because of its multi-ethnic community and strategic location between East and West.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate further the questions raised by Bem and others concerning the dimensionality of sex roles as they pertain to Hawaii today. More specifically, by using a multidimensional scaling device, we hope to elicit and describe the dimensions and structure of sex roles.

Methodology

The sample was composed of 270 male and female students enrolled in undergraduate sociology courses at the University of Hawaii. As shown in Table 1, the students were relatively homogeneous in age but varied with respect to ethnic identification. The most common ethnic groups in this sample were Japanese, Caucasian, Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, and Chinese.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was administered to the subjects (Bem, 1974). The BSRI contains twenty masculine characteristics and twenty feminine characteristics. Bem classified a characteristic as masculine if it were judged by two independent samples of undergraduates to be more desirable in American society for a man than for a woman (e.g., acts as a leader, ambigious, self-reliant) and feminine if it were judged to be more desirable in American society for a woman than for a man (e.g., warm, gentle, loves children). The remaining twenty items are classified by Bem as neutral characteristics (neither sex-typed as feminine or masculine) which vary with respect to their social evaluation; half are positively valued (e.g., happy, helpful, conscientious), while the remaining are negative in value (e.g., moody, theatrical,

TABLE 1. Distribution of Sample by Sex, Age, and Ethnic Identification (N = 270)

	Number	Percent
Sex		
Male	101	37%
Female	169	63
Age		
17-19	88	33
20-25	164	61
26-29	12	4
30 and above	6	2
Ethnic Identification		
Caucasian	55	20
Japanese	131	49
Chinese	25	9
Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian	27	10
Mixed	21	8
Other	11	4

unpredictable). When taking the BSRI, the respondent is asked to indicate on a seven-point scale how well each of these masculine, feminine, and neutral characteristics describes himself or herself. The scale ranges from 1 ("Never or almost never true") to 7 ("Always or almost always true"). Thus, for example, persons believing themselves almost always self-reliant would give themselves a score of 7 for that item.[1]

The responses of the subjects were then analyzed by a multidimensional scaling technique, Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), developed by Guttman (1968) in Israel and computerized by Lingoes (1968) in the United States.[2] SSA is a method which elicits the number and nature of dimensions in the data. First, Pearsonian correlation coefficients were computed between the sixty BSRI items. Then the SSA represented each item as a point on the space diagram (see Figures 1-3). The distance between these points reflects the correlation between the items: Highly correlated items are located physically close together, while items with low correlations are far apart on the space diagram.

The data were analyzed initially in one through six dimensions to investigate the number of dimensions which produce an acceptable fit to the data. The goodness of fit of each particular dimensional solution is indicated by a coefficient of alienation. The size of the coefficient decreases as the goodness of fit increases. The coefficient of alienation for the three dimensional solution was .15, which indicates that the three dimensional solution adequately represents the relationships between the sixty BSRI items. Thus, the BSRI data are not unidimensional but rather have three distinct dimensions.

To explicate the nature of these dimensions, a model was constructed representing each of the BSRI items in three dimensional space. The SSA program generates the co-ordinates used to position each variable in the three dimensional model. However, for simplicity of presentation, the space diagrams shown in Figures 1 through 3 are two dimensional projections of the three dimensional model. The space diagrams provide an accurate representation of the position of the points on the horizontal surface (first and second coordinates). The third dimension (third coordinate) portrayed in Figure 3 should be visualized as having upper and lower levels with the items circled in broken lines nesting under the items circled in unbroken lines.

The final step is the partitioning of the model into theoretically or substantively meaningful areas. The lines drawn through the space diagrams in Figures 1-3 indicate how we have conceptualized the nature of the three dimensions in the BSRI data; the reader may wish to examine these diagrams and offer alternative interpretations.

Results

Inspection of the space diagram shown in Figure 1 reveals that the sixty BSRI items cluster into three very distinct areas.[3] On the lower left of the diagram, every item (e.g., forceful, analytical, acts as a leader) is clearly masculine in nature. The items in the middle area are those which Bem classified as relatively neutral or non-sex-typed traits (e.g., happy, friendly, conceited). In contrast, items in the upper right area of the diagram are the feminine items—loves children, tender, yielding, etc. A few deviations occur when neutral items (e.g., unsystematic, inefficient) are located in the area which is

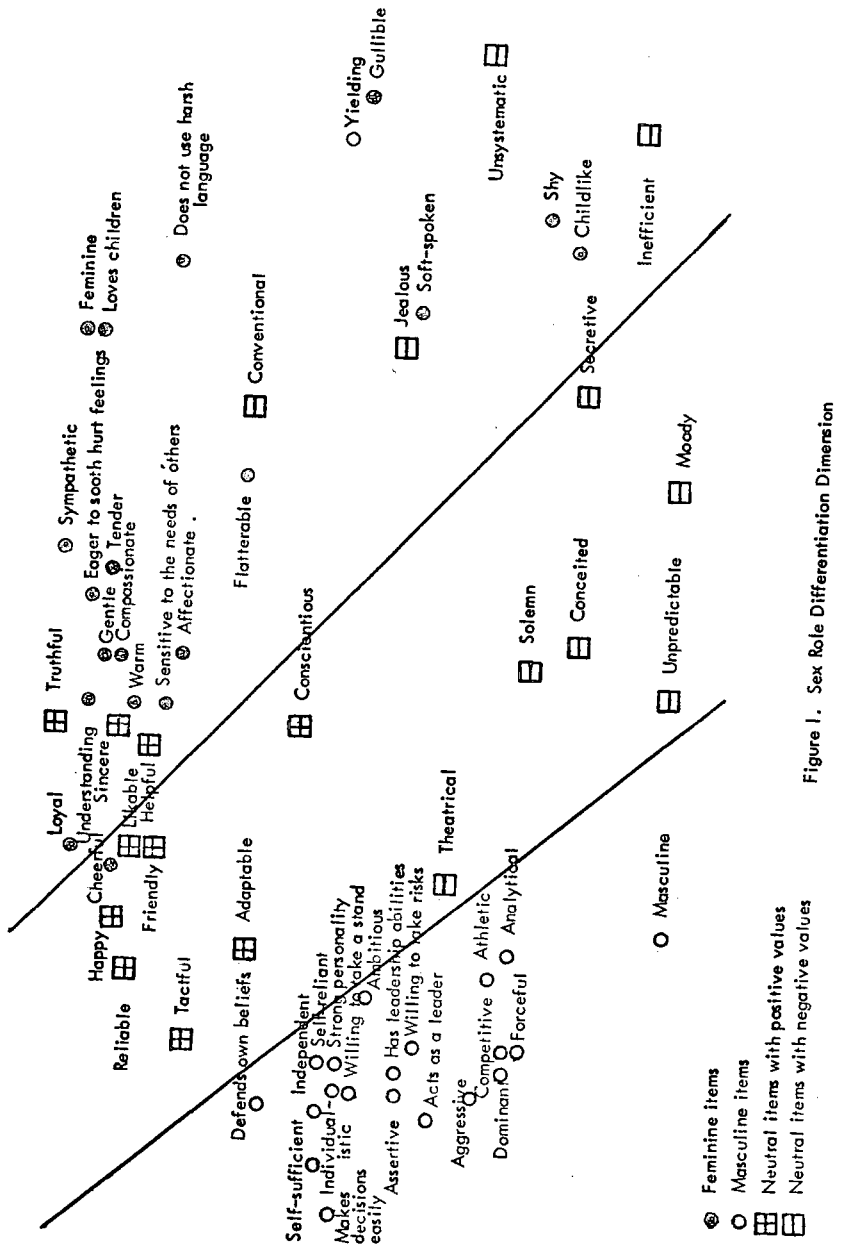

Figure 1. Sex Role Differentiation Dimension

predominately feminine. This can indicate either error or that these items are more associated with femininity in this sample. However, the deviation is small and the trends in the data quite apparent. Thus, since there is a clear continuum of behaviors from masculine to neutral to feminine, this dimension will be called the *sex role differentiation* dimension.

What, then, is the second dimension of the BSRI data? As shown in Figure 2, the BSRI neutral items which are positively evaluated (e.g., conscientious, friendly, tactful) are all in the left region, while the neutral but negative items (e.g., conceited, moody, and secretive) appear in the right region. While Bem did not classify the masculine and feminine traits as positive or negative (since these items were classified as masculine when preferable for men and as feminine when valued more for women), the space diagram shows quite clearly that feminine items which would be generally considered positive traits in women (e.g., loves children, understanding, gentle) are in the same area as the non-sex-typed neutral traits which have positive social evaluations. Items which are expected of women but are not valued in our society (e.g., gullible, shy, etc.) are located near the neutral items which have unfavorable values (e.g., conceited, unsystematic, secretive). What then is the situation with the masculine characteristics? Actually, all masculine traits appear in the positively evaluated area. Since the second dimension reflects a differential evaluation of traits as positive or negative, this dimension will be referred to as the *sex role evaluation* dimension.

The third dimension, shown in Figure 3, refers to the components of the masculine and feminine sex roles. The masculine traits, which are positioned on the left-hand side of the space diagram, are very tightly clustered and so somewhat difficult to analyze. However, if we examine the third dimension of the data, two distinctions within the male sex role appear. There is a cluster of traits (e.g., acts as a leader, makes decisions easily, forceful) which all seem to be *instrumental* in nature. Above these in three dimensional space are a smaller number of characteristics which seem to refer more to being a *competent* person (e.g., analytical, athletic, adaptable, and reliable). The set of feminine characteristics is more scattered but one tight cluster appears which is, in contrast to the masculine instrumental subrole, quite *nurturant* and *expressive*—the elements are loves children, affectionate, eager to soothe hurt feelings, etc. Again,

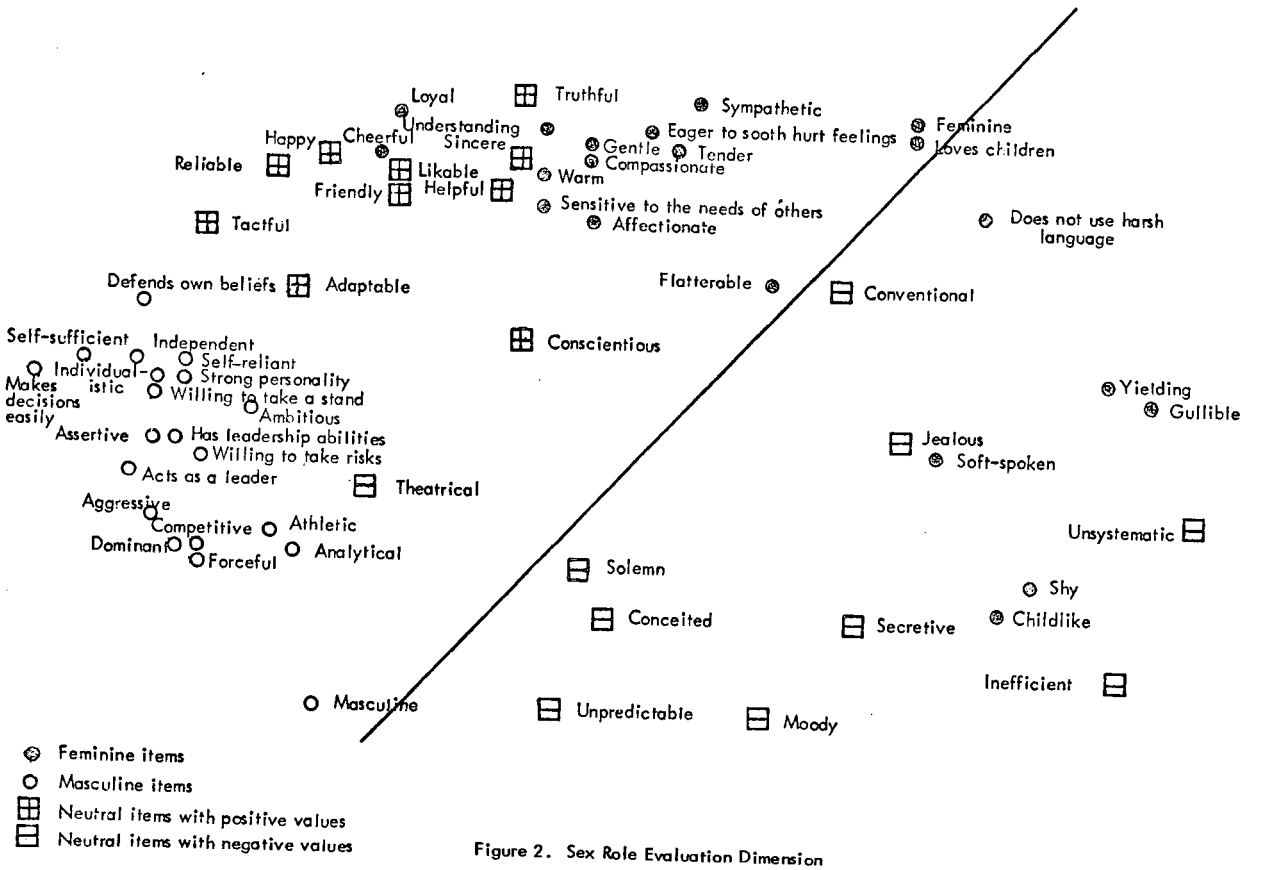

Figure 2. Sex Role Evaluation Dimension

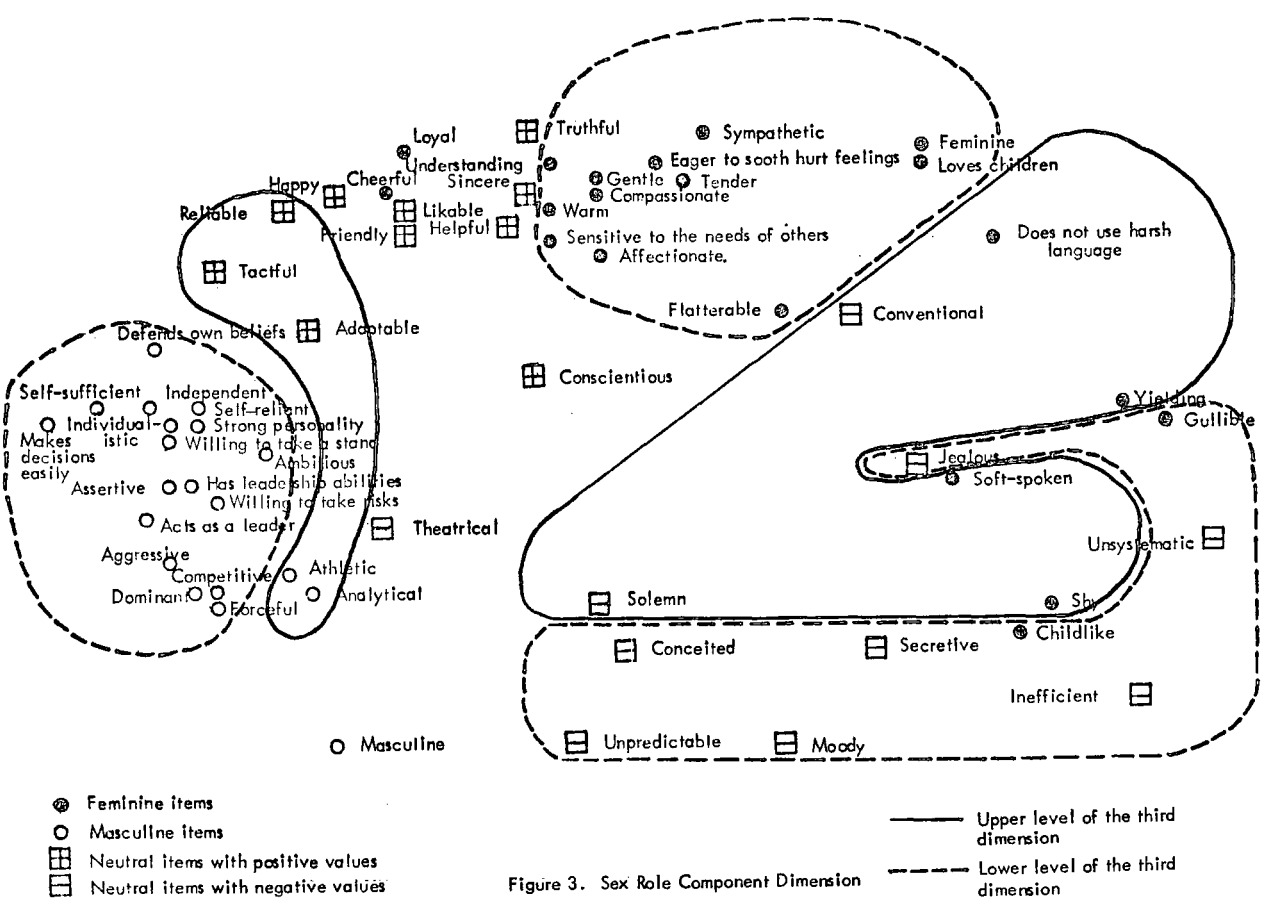

Figure 3. Sex Role Component Dimension

in contrast to the masculine traits reflecting competence, part of the female sex role involves an *incompetent* and *susceptible* aspect with traits such as inefficient, unsystematic, childlike, and gullible. While the masculine sex role was divided into two components, there appears to be a third meaningful partition of the feminine sex role located above the other two regions. A socially conventional or "*ladylike*" aspect is indicated by items such as conventional, soft-spoken, and does not use harsh language. This third dimension refers to aspects of the traditional male and female sex roles and so will be called the *sex role component* dimension.

These smallest space diagrams were generated from the data of all the respondents. As indicated by Table 1, the sample consisted of women and men from diverse ethnicities. Would we find the same or different results if we compared men with women, and if we compared individuals with different ethnic identifications? To investigate this question, separate SSA's were generated on two test groups (men vs. women; Caucasian vs. non-Caucasian). Examination of the resultant space diagrams (not shown here) revealed that the solutions for the subsamples, while showing slight variation, were remarkably similar to the solutions pictured in Figures 1-3. Thus, in our sample, the dimensionality of the sex role data appears to be a general phenomenon and not limited to certain social groups in Hawaii and not others.

Implications

Examination of the space diagrams has indicated that the social characteristics on the BSRI when subjected to smallest space analysis actually have three distinct dimensions. The first dimension refers to sex role differentiation and is partitioned into masculine, neutral, and feminine. The second dimension is the sex role evaluation dimension since all the traits, sex-typed as well as non-sex-typed, partition into positive and negative evaluation regions. Of the sex-typed traits, the masculine items all are located in the positive area, whereas the feminine items are positioned in both the positive and the negative areas. The third dimension refers to sub-roles within the sex roles. The masculine role partitions into instrumental and competency areas, while the feminine role is divided into nurturant, conventional, and incompetency areas.

Some further implications can be drawn from the smallest space analysis. The arrays of traits in the BSRI are not randomly distributed in this sample—the feminine, masculine and neutral items are located in distinct areas. In other words, masculine traits intercorrelate highly with each other while feminine traits correlate highly with each other, but masculine and feminine traits do not correlate highly with each other. This finding implies that for most of this Hawaiian sample, individuals play feminine or masculine roles rather than combining such traits in their repertoire. Also, when mixing does occur, it is likely to be between sex-typed and neutral traits, i.e., the person is self-reliant (masculine) and is adaptable (neutral) or is warm (feminine) and helpful (neutral).[4]

Another striking aspect of the space diagram is the relatively tight clustering of the items in the masculine sex role area and the looser structuring of the elements in the feminine sex role area. This suggests that a "masculine" person will tend to display most or all of the masculine traits or, from another view, one needs to play this role in every respect to be "masculine." In contrast, the looser array of the feminine traits indicates that a person may be feminine by performing some but not necessarily all of the feminine sex-typed traits. In other words, there is only one way to be masculine, while there may be several paths to femininity. This suggests also that the masculine role in Hawaii is more clearly defined and conformed to more than the relatively diffuse feminine role, and that change, to the extent it is occurring in Hawaii, is within aspects of the feminine role not the masculine role.

Lastly, these data have implications for the evaluation of the masculine and feminine sex roles in Hawaii. The concentration of the masculine traits in the region with positive items and the dispersal of feminine items in both positive and negative regions is quite apparent. While this may reflect that Bem included only positively valued masculine characteristics in the BSRI,[5] an interpretation which is consistent with the previously cited research studies is that the masculine sex role is more highly valued in terms of social desirability and prestige.

It is of course important to note that these data were obtained from a sample of college students with similar age and educational levels. Thus, some caution should be used in generalizing these findings to

the general population of Hawaii. An area for future research would be to replicate this study using a more representative sample. However, the similarity of the results, when analyzed by sex and ethnicity, suggests that these findings reflect relatively pervasive social processes in contemporary Hawaii.

NOTES

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1. Individuals with higher scores on masculine than feminine items are classified as masculine; those with higher scores on feminine than masculine items are feminine. Persons rating themselves equally high on both masculine and feminine items are classified as androgynous.

2. Bloombaum (1973) and Loether and McTavish (1974), in addition to the articles already cited, provide useful sources for the investigator interested in SSA and its implications.

3. The space diagram generated by SSA represents each item by its variable number. For ease of inspection, the variable number has been replaced with the name of the item as shown on the BSRI questionnaire and the classification of the behavioral item by Bem as masculine, feminine, and neutral (positive or negative).

4. Another implication is that some of the characteristics which Bem classified as neutral should be reclassified as feminine (e.g., helpful, sincere, unsystematic) since they are located close to the feminine items in the space diagram.

5. Note that Bem attempted to avoid this by classifying traits *desirable* for men and women as masculine and feminine respectively.

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THE SOCIAL PATTERNING OF ILLICIT DRUGS AS MEDIATED BY YOUTH CULTURE IN HAWAII

Joseph E. Seldin

Various social processes have defined the illicit uses of psychoactive drugs among young people in Hawaii over the last dozen years. This paper will examine marijuana, heroin, and LSD in terms of diffusion to and through these islands, the impact of reference groups, subcultural and counter-cultural pressures, and supply/demand curves.[1] Hawaii's youthful consumption patterns of illicit drugs have been unique. We are a gateway, a crossroads and a magnet. We are an isolated island yet part of the American mainstream. All of these realities are reflected in the special way illegal psychoactive drugs have come here, were used here and became part of our life. The production, distribution and consumption of the three illicit substances associated with young people in America over the last dozen years demonstrate Hawaii's uniqueness.

Hawaii, in the past dozen years, has produced, distributed, and consumed an array of psychoactive substances used by the young in America, all of which were illegal to produce or consume. Marijuana, heroin, and LSD are capable of influencing perception and emotion, and altering the way the mind interprets experience. I have chosen the last dozen years because with some simplification, relative to these three drugs, that time period can be conveniently divided into two distinct six-year periods; the first, roughly 1968 through 1973 was characterized by low prices, ample supply, and the "high quality" of the substances, while the second, 1974 through 1979, by high prices, tight supply, variable quality, and perhaps most interestingly, by the creation of a major new locus of agricultural activity in the production of marijuana.

The character of the first period was shaped by a set of events whose genesis and expression occurred in contexts largely external to Hawaii. On the mainland during the 1960s, a new social status was emerging. It involved a sense of self somewhere between adolescence and adulthood. It was characterized by relative affluence and autonomy, and came to be labeled a

youth subculture. During that time one saw a set of persons coming to share a common sense of destiny while among them a distinctive lifestyle gradually developed.

In the 1960s this group mostly between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, encountered certain distinctive tensions in America. The initial installment of the World War II baby boom had made it into their late teens and early twenties by the middle of the decade. Many of them entered, indeed flooded, colleges and universities. There they found institutions guided by the philosophy of *in loco parentis* which placed restrictions on youths often more severe than those at home, and certainly not consistent with the aspirations and expectations of youth (curfews for females and sometimes males, the serious attempt to suppress heterosexual intercourse among undergraduates in the name of protecting female virginity, sex-segregated dormitories, etc.) and a curriculum policy permitting few course choices until the junior year and then fairly restrictive policies once a major and minor were chosen. More importantly, an unpopular war was then being fought, and an unprecedented set of Black-White relations were being forged with considerable tension in the cauldron of disintegrating central cities where many large universities were located.

Those not on campus typically went to war while students were largely protected from the draft. In a war, age-grading is as intense as at any university, and a sense of common destiny even stronger. Support among draftees for this war was unusually low; there were high desertion rates and poor morale even though most soldiers didn't see combat.

Being young (rather than adolescent or adult) meant discovering/creating a distinctive presentation of self and lifestyle. Those who ran society (those who were guardians of established morality in the military, on campus, in churches and in government), typically opposed this youthful experimentation, criticized "minority excesses," and supported the Vietnam War. Under such circumstances some youths, mostly white, middle class, and college educated at first, responded by rejecting established society as corrupt (racist, sexist, and imperialist), and attempted to create a lifestyle and identity very different from that of the conventional world. In searching out or discovering "its own thing," its own thing got to be more and more different than respectable adult things, indeed often opposite to respectability. Thus parts of the subculture became a counter-culture and for them the

search for youthful clothing, music, food, politics, and psychoactive drugs, led in very "unconventional" directions. Many youths had the autonomy and affluence to choose a lifestyle counter to respectability and under the tensions of the 1960s a sizable proportion did. Thus, for example, young people caught up in the times chose marijuana (a drug associated with the unconventional and disreputable, as well as with Blacks and Hispanics) instead of, or in addition to, alcohol.

As their hair grew long, as bell-bottom blue jeans became a uniform, and beards and beads and bangles sprouted, marijuana became the symbolic centerpiece identifying young people with being counter-cultural. In the 1960s marijuana was connected primarily to that portion of youth at the margin and/or in protest. And as we shall see, each of the drugs discussed in this essay was, and is, used primarily by youths, and in most instances they have brought it here, or grow it here, and/or sell it here.

Period One: The Years of Cheap Gold in Hawaii (1968-73)

Young adventuresome haoles have been coming to Hawaii since Captain Cook. But in the late 1960s many brought their long hair, their bell-bottoms, and their "grass." Marijuana was here already; in fact the first pot bust occurred in Palolo Valley in 1938 (Widmer, 1978). Lenny Bruce and his wife were arrested in the late 1950s here, and indeed during that time, as today, marijuana smoking was common among local Waikiki entertainers. However, marijuana grown here was restricted to a few hundred regular users and a revolving set of visiting entertainers until the 1960s. With the coming of counter-cultural youth who chose to settle here awhile, marijuana presence expanded enormously, for when their "stash" ran out, they started "growing their own." This was so because they found in Hawaii the best growing conditions in the fifty states. In addition, up to three harvests per year are possible.[2]

These young "hippies" had a "religious" zeal to spread the practice of pot smoking and growing to other young people. They were also practiced at low level "dealing" (i.e., selling, usually at a small profit). Further local demand was then small and there was competition from military sources. For all of these reasons, prices were kept low. In these regards the military connection is important. The Vietnam War was special in a number of respects. One

of them was that this was the only protracted war in American history in which our allies were overwhelmingly users of marijuana for recreation, work, medicine, and even religious purposes. Never have so many of our American soldiers spent so much time with so many pot smoking allies. Marijuana was incredibly accessible in Vietnam, at unbelievably low prices, e.g., much lower than the price of alcohol on base. Six out of seven of our soldiers never saw combat, had lots of time on their hands, were generally bored and unhappy to be away from home, and unclear about why we were fighting. They were also young, and many had smoked marijuana before entering the military, while among those who had not, there was the certain knowledge that it was becoming the thing to do back home. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers ended up smoking marijuana in Vietnam. Hawaii was a major staging area for the war, and large numbers of people were coming and going from Vietnam to Hawaii in those years. During the war tons of Southeast Asian grass got through military inspection (as one informant put it, in the hollowed out anchors of ships) to Hawaii, though much of it was on the way to somewhere else. Here soldiers could continue smoking some of the most potent marijuana in the world, generally more potent than Hawaiian varieties. These soldiers, like their hippie counterparts, were also willing to sell some of their "stash" and, given the extremely low prices paid in Saigon, could sell at a sizable profit and meet or beat the price of even low profit margin hippie grass. Six dollars for two and a half to three gram "Thai sticks," or forty dollars for twenty-eight to thirty grams of "Kona Gold" (typically not quite as potent as the sticks) were the kinds of prices available in the late sixties for local Hawaiian residents interested in a product of which there was too much being sold by too many to too few.

The phenomenon of low-priced high potency heroin which also characterized this period in Hawaii had a purely military basis, while that of inexpensive high potency/purity LSD was exclusively counter-cultural in origin. Some background: Opium has been a part of Southeast Asian peasant life for as long as marijuana. Used primarily for healing or medicinally as a pain killer, but also used both recreationally and for religious purposes, opium was smoked, eaten, drunk, and its vapors inhaled, and done so within traditional, rural, peasant societies where the poppy plant, source of the opium, was grown. With the coming of the French Colonial regime to Indo-China raw opium was converted to morphine and heroin, most of which was exported to Europe and some on to America.

A Golden Triangle including parts of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Burma through much of the twentieth century was the second largest source (after Turkey) of the western world's heroin. Local farmers growing the poppy continued to use opium in the traditional manner while growing a lot more of it. However, in the largest of the urban centers such as Saigon, and, until the communist takeover, Hanoi, some heroin use among small groups of French colonials and Vietnamese existed. With the coming of the Americans, the French heroin manufacturers stayed on, and found a new domestic market to add to their export trade.

The opiates did not play a prominent part in counter-cultural drug use in the 1960s, nor was the military pattern connected to American urban ghetto uses. The use of heroin by American soldiers was a special adaptive pattern. The heroin they found on the streets of Saigon was very inexpensive, very potent, often fifteen to twenty times more potent at 1/20th the price of the product on American city streets. One gram of heroin, 90 percent pure, was selling for twenty dollars American in 1970 in Saigon, while in New York, that same quantity contained perhaps 5 percent heroin and cost four hundred dollars. The Golden Triangle heroin was often called Rock Heroin because it was usually sold in small white chips or crystals. It was typically smoked, or snorted (chopped into a fine powder and inhaled as with snuff or cocaine) by the local Saigonese, and that is how most soldiers learned to use it.

The low price and these ("safe") modes of administration were part of what made it attractive to soldiers. However the alienation and boredom of draftees should not be overlooked either. Most Americans did not become addicted to heroin; at most perhaps 5 percent of them suffered classic withdrawal symptoms. However, probably 25 to 30 percent tried heroin and used it on occasion. My guess is that the purity, the potency, the price, the availability and ease of administration, as well as natural curiosity about what is, after all, one form of the world's most widely used pain-killer were sufficiently motivating to explain non-addictive use.[3]

Some of these Rock Heroin-using soldiers, as they returned to Hawaii, brought the product with them. It was much easier to smuggle, given its concentrated form, than marijuana, and the product was often easily found on the streets of Honolulu in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The prices were the lowest in America, and the potency the highest; as late as 1971 it was possible to pay thirty-five dollars for a gram, tested at 90 percent purity.

Hawaii had known of opium with the coming of the Chinese to the plantations (Lim, 1979) but that pattern had been largely suppressed by World War I. As far as heroin was concerned, until the period of "cheap gold" we were at the "tail of the dragon," the last stop for Turkish heroin. Now we were at its head. During this time there were a few hundred local heroin addicts, and the fascinating aspect of the advent of inexpensive Golden Triangle Rock Heroin, was that the numbers did not much change. There was neither a significant increase in addiction among the local population, nor did hordes of mainland addicts decide to move here. Certainly the low prices and availability led to some increase in experimentation by local residents, but not addiction. One does not become addicted to heroin after a single administration; one must use it regularly, usually daily for a few weeks (length of time dependent on dosage and frequency of administration, as well as route of administration) before withdrawal symptoms accompany cessation of use. In other words, one must always choose to become an addict, and easy access to inexpensive heroin is not by itself sufficient to motivate addiction. For the mainland addicts aware of our "cheap golden rocks," a number of factors probably kept them at home. Among them was the price of plane fare, the necessity of securing new lodging, finding a new dealer, and discovering new sources of usually illegal income. On the other hand, well-to-do addicts could afford whatever the prices were, wherever they were. Thus Hawaii began and ended the period of cheap gold with a few hundred civilian resident addicts.

The last topic concerns LSD of high quality, at prices among the lowest in America. LSD came from San Francisco and Los Angeles. Involved in bringing it here was a murky group of counter-culture activists, allegedly connected with Timothy Leary, and called The Brotherhood, or The Brotherhood of Eternal Love (High Times Encyclopedia, 1978). Based on Maui, and involved in marijuana production in an area called The Banana Patch, they were a loose-knit group of businessmen committed to commercial activities such as distributing Hawaiian-grown marijuana and imported hashish to the mainland, while also ideologically committed to encouraging psychedelic and cannabis use among local Hawaii residents. They were one of the first groups to demonstrate the economic

potential of Hawaiian grown marijuana as a large-scale commercial export opportunity (to the mainland). They also provided laboratory grade LSD at low prices to Oahu. Given the relatively low demand (Takeuchi, 1974) at the time, they had a major impact on the quality and price of LSD. Though the details remain unclear, an organized group of importer/exporter hippie businessmen dominated psychedelic use in Hawaii and demonstrated the economic viability of "pakalolo" sold to the mainland.

Period Two: Hawaii Gold Becomes Expensive and Tarnished (1974-79)

Three main factors define this second period. These factors are the end of the Vietnam War, the break-up of The Brotherhood, and most important, a significant increase in local demand for the illicit substances we have been discussing.

By 1974 not only had our soldiers been defeated in Vietnam, most had also returned from Thailand. Communists curtailed marijuana and opium production, particularly for export, in Vietnam and Cambodia, and to a considerable but lesser extent in Laos as well. Marijuana and raw opium continue to be extensively produced in the Shan state of Burma and parts of Thailand, however the American military connection is largely severed. Civilians still import Southeast Asian marijuana to Hawaii, but less of it and at much higher prices, to a population of users much larger than the prior period. The product arrives intermittently and at four to five times the price of the earlier period, while quality is also more likely to vary.[4]

Southeast Asian heroin is very hard to find in Hawaii today, having been replaced by Mexican heroin via Los Angeles.[5] The addict population over the last six years has grown, though remains small, and probably was under a thousand persons as of 1979. These people are paying prices ten times higher for a product 1/10th to 1/20th the potency of Golden Triangle Rock Heroin.

The use of psychedelics is declining in America and probably has peaked even in Hawaii. The 1974-1979 period saw the effective police harassment and eventual departure of The Brotherhood, while a much larger LSD user group was developing. Nonetheless, although there are and have been local production efforts, most LSD still arrives from west coast

ports and without the dominance of The Brotherhood, prices have risen on average five-fold and potency and purity have become highly variable. It is much more important to know your dealer these days than it once was.

The use of marijuana among Hawaiian youth has also increased significantly in the last six years. Local demand is now indistinguishable from mainland locales of similar population size. If marijuana use had become socially normal for mainland youth in the early 1970s, it achieved the same status here in the middle to late 1970s, with continued growth in marijuana use likely in both lower and higher age groups. The marijuana smoked is largely home grown, e.g., in the backyard, or at least somewhere else in the State. The fecundity of the soil, the year-long amiability of climate, the ease of camouflage in our subtropical environment, make marijuana growing a "natural" for the state. Indeed, the plant now grows wild in such quantity as to be uneradicatable. However it is the cultivated variety that is of special interest, for a major new industry has emerged over the last six years to become the primary agricultural activity in the islands. As a cash crop, marijuana has replaced sugar as number one. Whereas sugar and pineapple continue to falter, marijuana production continues to grow.

On the Neighbor Islands marijuana is grown primarily for export to the mainland, growers are local residents often with prior experience in the sugar or pineapple industry. Although in the late sixties and early seventies growing was done primarily by haoles from the mainland, the techniques quickly diffused up the age ladder and across subcultures as the economic potential became clear and as attitudes about marijuana softened; and whether in backyards for personal use, or on public land for commercial production, Neighbor Island growers are now as "home grown" as their product. The diffusion process that produced this domestication of production was typically a two step flow of marijuana farming techniques. Starting with young mainland haoles and going through friendship ties to local counter-cultural youth and from them through friendship and kinship to a wide array of local agriculturalists. These persons continue to refine and elaborate marijuana farming techniques.

Only on Oahu is a substantial portion of the marijuana crop produced for in-state consumption, where it competes with a tiny portion of the Neighbor

Island crop also reserved for in-state use. On Oahu tourists now know about Hawaiian marijuana and the younger ones seek it out, as do the military, in contrast to the cheap Gold period when both used other sources for their marijuana. Oahu's increasingly urban character also somewhat retards some local residents who might otherwise wish to grow their own, and its overall population size makes the city and county a viable market. However, even here much is produced for export. For in-state users prices have risen four- to fivefold in the last dozen years, with supply not keeping up with rising demand.

The Big Island alone in recent years has been producing approximately 500,000 pounds of marijuana per year. The rest of the State produces an equivalent amount. These one million pounds bring more income than any other agricultural activity and have attracted organized crime particularly in the distribution phase of the process. Also the state government has become increasingly interested in grass, producing two Operation Green Harvests per year, i.e., attempts to eradicate the crop prior to harvest. Their success rate is about 10 percent. One hundred fifty thousand dollars per year are now allocated by the legislature for such purposes, with additional federal funds on the way. The State's newest and largest agricultural enterprise is likely to survive both "cops and robbers" and achieve some kind of legal status over the next decade, with legal access for medical purposes the probable first step. Large-scale marijuana production seems likely to continue for the foreseeable future.

In summary, we have looked at the last twelve years in terms of the relationship of the young to three illegal psychoactive drugs in Hawaii. We have seen processes of cultural lag and technological diffusion, fashion and fad, reference group and identity formation, all producing the rich mosaic of behaviors and sentiments that connect psychoactive drugs and our island society.

Notes

1. For a general introduction to psychoactive drugs, see Aldrich, et al. (1978) and Brecher (1972).

2. I have information from direct observation of one backyard grower who has produced four fully mature harvests per year.

3. Once before American soldiers had intimate and protracted exposure to opiates. It occurred during the American Civil War, when physicians addicted tens of thousands, on both sides, to morphine.

4. During the twelve years under discussion, the general cost of living approximately doubled.

5. As of 1980 "the Ayatollah's Revenge" (Iranian, Afghani, or Pakistani heroin) was not yet in much evidence here.

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THE *HOREHORE-BUSHI*:

A TYPE OF JAPANESE FOLKSONG DEVELOPED AND SUNG AMONG THE EARLY IMMIGRANTS IN HAWAII

Yukuo Uyehara

In 1944, John F. Embree, in his *Japanese Peasant Songs*, wrote:

> It is perhaps worth noting that in Japanese immigrant communities in America, the folksong plays a very minor role. There are fewer occasions for banquets, and members of the society come from various parts of Japan, and so do not share a common body of folklore and folklore is much weaker in an immigrant community than in a Japanese village. Furthermore, the second generation, having acquired American ways, looks down upon the ways of its parents as uncouth. These younger people, more urbanized than their parents, are more likely to know the latest popular swing tune than the words of a song from their parents' home country. (Embree, 1944:4)

Nearly forty years later, this statement still holds true in some respects but it does not in other ways. The "Japanese boom" prevails in Hawaii and the popularity of the Japanese folksongs is no exception. The teenagers and the young adults, especially of the feminine sex, enjoy Japanese popular songs. The folksongs, too, seem to play a more important role among these segments than formerly. However, when it comes to the verbal expression of the songs at the teahouses and home gatherings, the most active are the first-generation and the older second-generation Japanese.

I have collected and translated some of the folksongs which developed among the early Japanese immigrants in Hawaii but are rarely sung now. In the collecting, two methods were employed, namely, bibliographical and field work. For the former, all available literature in Japanese written by the Japanese in Hawaii, particularly that dealing with the history of immigration, was examined and fragmentary references to folksongs were put together. For the latter, I consulted some local Japanese folksong enthusiasts and "old timers" whose memory went back farther than that of others. I was primarily interested in collecting as many songs as possible and in putting them together before they were forgotten and lost.

While Japanese folksongs are diversified in range and variety, verses that sing of daily life predominate. Unlike the literary *tanka* and *haiku* poems,[1] there are very few nature songs, and the verses have been passed on orally, and have no known composers. Musically, they differ from one another according to locality, and they have such individual peculiarities and characteristics that their notation in Western music can be done only imperfectly. Also, it should be noted that there is a great difference in the way of singing among the singers themselves. However, if such a generalization be permitted, one may say that they all sing in double or quadruple time and there is not a single tune that has three beats.

This is not true of the so-called 'new folksong' whose words are written by verse-makers, put to music by professional composers, recorded by professional singers, and sung by both professional and amateur singers. Some say that these 'new folksongs', compositions of which became especially popular beginning with the 1920s, are just as much folksongs as the traditional ones. One of the reasons, they say, is that they continue to be sung year after year, and they have joined the ranks of regular folksongs and have become an integral part of the life of the people. Secondly, some of the traditional folksongs may have followed a similar course in their birth and development, and hence time of origin is immaterial.

Though it is but one form of folksong, a twenty-six syllable verse known as the *dodoitsu* (a Japanese limerick) will be briefly explained, for it is this type which happens to be the subject of my discussion as far as the number of syllables is concerned. Though there are many theories as to the origin of this type of prosody, it became very popular during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) and continued to be so until about the end of the nineteenth century. It is still sung fairly often at banquets and other festive occasions. Here is an example:

7(3-4)	Tōku/hanarete	When we are far, far apart
7(4-3)	Aitai/toki wa	And want to be together,
7(3-4)	Tsuki ga/kagami ni	I only wish the moon
5(3-2)	Nareba/yoi	Were a mirror.

Although no attempt has been made to make the English translation correspond with the original syllabic arrangement, readers will note that it is a 7,7,7,5

syllabic composition and each unit could be further divided into 3-4, 4-3, 3-4 and 3-2 syllables respectively. It is actually the shortest of all Japanese folksongs.

The verses collected and translated here all come under the title, *Horehore Bushi* or the *Holehole Tune*.[2] *Holehole* is a Hawaiian word, reduplication of *hole*, which means to skin, peel, or strip, as sugarcane leaves from the stalk. Therefore, the word for stripping the cane leaves by hand, which was done primarily by women on the old Hawaiian plantations, was known by this term. Furthermore, since this phase of the plantation work constituted a major type of group work, the workers must have sung this tune and other songs mixed with gossip, jokes and broad banter to keep up their *esprit de corps* in relieving the arduousness of the labor.

The *Horehore Bushi* is perhaps the only type of anonymous Japanese folksong that savors the natural and spontaneous overflow of emotion which developed among the old Japanese immigrant laborers in Hawaii. It is in the language of the place and time, as all folksongs are and should be. This does not necessarily mean, however, that it developed without the inspiration of popular folksongs of some regions of Japan from which the immigrants came.

The development of Japanese folksongs involves two basic factors—namely, the *motouta* (base song) and the *kaeuta* (parody or variation). From a base song (hypothetical in itself) develop the various parodies. Such a development takes different forms. It often is a mere substitution of one place or personal name for another—to give an arbitrarily contrived example:

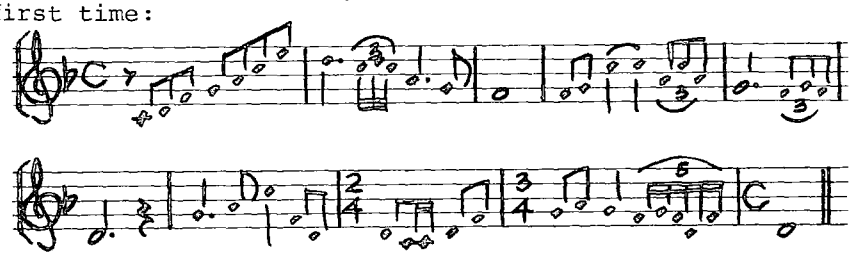
> Kusatsu yoi toko --- Tokyo yoi toko --- Hawai yoi toko
>
> Kusatsu is a nice place --- Tokyo is a nice place --- Hawaii is a nice place.

Another form is a partial or entire change in the wording of a song without the change in its melody. In this case, the variation tends to become more comical or humorous, or to "degenerate" into a sexual song which is more "exciting." A participant at a private or teahouse party who introduces such new parodies often receives applause and such jesting remarks from his friends as "he must have put in a big investment to learn them."

There are several theories as to probable influences of the native Japanese folksongs upon the *Horehore* tune, to wit:

1. *Noritori-bushi* (Seaweed Gathering Song) which was popular in the Miho-machi section of Hiroshima prefecture.
2. *Tanokusa-tori Uta* (Paddy Weeding Song) of Saiki county in Hiroshima prefecture.
3. Boatmen's Songs of the Seto Inland Sea.
4. Farmers' Songs from the Yetsushiro section of Kumamoto prefecture.
5. *Omisuri Uta* (Rice-husking Song) of Hiroshima prefecture.

Regardless of these various theories as to how *Horehore* songs came about, the fact remains that these verses, though invariably parodies of those of their native land, are genuine products of the lives of the early immigrants to Hawaii, and they constitute valuable material for the study of Japanese immigrant life. In 1960, a Japanese composer, Itsuro Hattori, with the help of Harry M. Urata of Honolulu, worked out the following musical notation for the first time:



Hattori has this to say about the composition:

> When I visited Honolulu in 1960, we assembled a dozen or so aged Japanese and taped their *Horehore* songs individually. As it was expected, everyone had sung in a slightly different tune. So I took the common features of all their tunes and restored what could have been the early form. Their composite tune, therefore, is the common denominator for the reconstruction of the old melodies in order to save this folksong from getting lost completely. (*Hawaii Times*, 1967)

No attempt has been made to make the following English translations of the verses correspond with

the original syllabic arrangement, nor are they meant to be sung along with the melody. Let us begin with some of the songs that deal with work itself and what was going on in the minds of many—soliloquies of life and aspirations:

Isogu *pau-hana*	In the rush at *pau-hana*[3]
Mibi no ha ga karamu	I get caught in cane leaves,
Korobya mi o sasu	When I stumble and fall,
Kibi no iga	They prickle, they jab.
Sōte kurō wa	I expect a lot of troubles
Kakugo no ue yo	When I marry you.
Sowanu uchi kara	I'm already going through the mill,
Kurō suru	Even before we're hitched.
Kane[4] wa *kachiken*[5]	My husband cuts the cane stalks
Washa *horehore* yo	And I trim their leaves.
Ase to namida no	With sweat and tears we both work
Tomokasegi	For our means.
Jōyaku kiretara	When the term of my contract[6] is over,
Kinau ni notte	Shall I get on the steamer *Kinau*
Yuko ka Maui no	And leave for Spreckelsville
Supekuru ni	On Maui?
Jōyaku kiretara	When the term of my contract is over,
Wahine[7] o yonde	Shall I get my wife from Japan,
Yuko ka Hawai no	And go to Hamakua
Hamakua ni	On Hawaii?

One of the following two songs is a variation of the other, the only difference being the name of the place.

Yuko ka Meriken	Shall I go to America[8]
Kaero ka Japan	Or shall I go home to Japan?
Koko ga shian no	I'm lost in thoughts
Hawai-koku	Here in Hawaii.
Yuko ka Meriken	Shall I go to America
Kaero ka Japan	Or shall I go home to Japan?
Koko ga shian no	I'm lost in thoughts
Oafu Shima	Here on Oahu.

These, in turn, are variations from the popular parodies found in different sections of Japan. Here is an example from Niigata prefecture;

Yuko ka Izumozaki	Shall I go to Izumozaki
Kaero ka Niigata	Or shall I go home to Niigata?
Koko wa shian no	I'm lost in thoughts
Teradomari	Here in Teradomari.

Most of the Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii with the idea of saving money and then returning to their homes in Japan when the contract was over, but it did not work out according to expectations. So they sang:

Jōyaku kireru shi	My contract is over,
Tanomosha ochita	And I got my *tanomoshi*[9] money too.
Kuni no tegami nya	The letters from my homeland say,
Hayo kaere	"Quickly, come home!"
Ikkai nikai de	Those who came on First and Second ships,
Kaeranu mono wa	And still don't go back home to Japan,
Sue wa Hawai de	Will become fertilizer at the end
Poi no koe	For the *poi*[10] plants.
"Okure okure" wa	"Send us money, send us money!"
Kuni kara no tegami	Is the usual note from home.
Nan de okuraryo	But how can I do it
Kono zama de	In this plight?

Many of the laborers could not meet these demands from home, and they felt guilty about corresponding with their families and relatives without sending some amount of money at least once in awhile. It is said that they began neglecting to write home. The people back home, of course, could not see why sending money was impossible since living was supposed to be comfortable and easy in Hawaii. Some of the immigrants ended up borrowing or taking *tanomoshi* money to satisfy these demands.

The following songs are reflections of some of the subtle labor-management problems of the time, and they are filled with innuendos:

Tsurai horehore	The only reason I'm doing
Koraete suru mo	This tough and painful *holehole* work
Kuni nya nyōbo mo	Is for the sake of my wife and children
Ko made aru	Who live back home.

(The "spur-man"[11] is supposed to be saying):

Tsuite kinasare	Stop your grumbling and follow me!
Monku wa yamete	Don't tell me that you can
Kuchi de *horehore*	Strip the cane leaves
Suru ja nashi	With your mouth!

(Then the laborer replying):

Tsuite ikaryo ka	How can I follow you
Omae no ato e	And work like a devil?
Ore nya mashikin	I don't get extra pay
Aru ja nashi	Like you!
Ten-sen morōte	Those who curry favor and spur us to work
Hipparu yatsu wa	For mere extra ten cents
Inu ni kuwarete	Better be bitten by a dog
Shinurya yoi	And killed.
Asu wa *korokoro*[12] yo	Tomorrow I'll be tried in court,
Mikka wa kimari	And for three days, for sure,
Akai ketto do	I'll be wearing a red blanket
Karabōshi[13]	In jail.
Dekasegi wa kuru kuru	More and more laborers come to Hawaii
Hawai wa tsumaru	And job has reached its limits.
Ai no Nakayama	But Nakayama[14] alone keeps on
Kane ga furu	Fattening his purse.

Below is an example that refers to the bubonic plague which ravaged Honolulu, and the subsequent burning of its Chinatown district at the close of the nineteenth century. It is said that more than half of the nearly seven thousand people made homeless by this fire were Japanese.[15]

Shufu no Nippon-jin wa	The Japanese in the capital
Pesuto de yakare	Were burnt out by the black plague,
Ima ja *chība*[16] ni	And now they are scorched again
Mata kogaru	With dice.

A verse that sings of *moloha-men*[17] (lazy ones) probably of the non-contract laborers is really worth translating:

Ame ga furya neru	When it rains I sleep;
Hiyori nara yasumu	When it's sunny I stay away from work;
Sora ga kumoreba	And, when cloudy, I spend the day
Sake o nomu	In drinking wine.

Because of the imbalance in the male-female ratio among the Chinese and Japanese immigrants and other environmental factors, sex life in the sugar plantations seems to have been quite promiscuous. Though many Japanese folksongs use metaphor and double-entendre to express love and sex, the following are quite direct:

Runa ga fūfū[18] shiyōte	We don't care even if the foreman
Futari wa mama yo	Should get angry over our affairs.
Harete soimasu	We'll be man and wife openly soon
Honoruru do	In Honolulu.
Sōdō okoshite	If we can get married
Sowareru mi narya	By stirring up troubles,
Hayaku sōdō ga	I'll like to start the troubles
Okoshitai	Very soon.
Asu wa Sande ja	Tomorrow is Sunday;
Asobi ni oide	Come and spend the day with me.
Kane wa *hanawai*[19]	My husband works but I'll be home
Washa uchi ni	All alone.
Ryokō-menjo no	Though I checked what's written
Uragaki mita ga	On my passport,
Mabu o suruna to	It doesn't say a word that I can't have
Kaicha nai	A secret lover.
Tanomoshi otoshite	I took the *tanomoshi* money
Wahine o yonde	And got my wife from Japan.
Hito ni torarete	But I blubbered so hard when someone
Beso kaita	Snatched her away.
Sanjūgo-sen no	If I make love with a Chinese man,
Horehore shuyori	Rather than work for thirty-five cents,
Pake-san[20] to *moimoi*[21] surya	I'll be making a big
Akāhi kala	One dollar.
Jōyaku wa kirerushi	The contract is over and yet
Miren wa nokoru	I hate to give up my work.
Danburo no *wahine* nya	If I do, I'll miss the woman who lives
Ki ga nokoru	Outside the camp.

The readers must have noticed the mixing of Hawaiian words and Japanese English in the Japanese column of the collection. Take the last of the preceding verses, for instance. The third line, "Danburo no wahine nya" is trilingual in its composition. "Danburo" is the phonological reflection of "down below," "no" being close to "of," "at," "by," and "wahine" is a Hawaiian word for "woman." Putting them together, it means "the woman who lives down there," and actually refers to "the woman who lives outside the laborers' camp." In passing, it should be noted here that this pattern of pidgin of their own creation is still heard in conversations among some of the first generation Japanese in Hawaii. That is to be expected

since such linguistic hodge-podge was the lingo of the time. It adds local color to their expression and makes these verses uniquely Hawaiian Japanese folksongs.

It can be said, though too obvious and presumptuous, that those *Horehore* songs are reflections of the life of many of the early Japanese immigrants. Plaintive strains are recognizable in many of them. For some laborers, lack of spiritual and economic comfort led to a "slipshod" way of life. Their troubled thoughts, aching hearts, and even self-pity made their lives prosaic and without latitude. All these features seem to be faithfully mirrored in these little verses.

NOTES

1. The *tanka* is a short poem of thirty-one syllables consisting of five units of 5,7,5,7,7 syllables respectively, and it abounds in nature description. The *haiku* is a shorter poetical type with only seventeen syllables in all. Inclusion of nature is a must in this.

2. Since there is no "l" in Japanese romanization, *Holehole* in Hawaiian becomes *Horehore*.

3. Hawaiian term referring to "the end of a day's work." *Pau* means "over," and *hana*, "work."

4. Hawaiian word for "husband" or "man."

5. Japanized pidgin "cut cane" for "cutting cane."

6. "A labor convention signed in Tokyo in 1884 provided for the contracting of Japanese laborers with the Hawaiian government for periods of three years with wages of nine dollars per month and a food allowance of six dollars per month for agricultural." (Lind, 1935:198)
   After the termination of contract immigration in 1900 as Hawaii became a part of the United States, it became possible without any restriction for any Japanese to come to Hawaii until 1908 when the Japanese government voluntarily prohibited emigration to Hawaii by the Gentlemen's Agreement. This and the succeeding several verses reflect the time when contract labor came to an end, and a tremendous number of free laborers arrived, and at the same time a great exodus of workers from the Hawaiian plantations to the mainland United States took place, ostensibly to seek new opportunities.

7. Hawaiian word for "wife" or "woman."

8. Mainland United States.

9. A form of mutual financing association.

10. Hawaiian staple food made from taro root (root stalk).

11. The Japanese laborers called the men hired by the plantation to spur them to work hard at stripping the cane leaves, "*hippari*-men." They received an additional ten cents per day over the regular workers' wage. The term is a combination of the Japanese "hipparu" (to drag, to pull, to draw) and the English "men."

12. From the Hawaiian, *kolokolo* (trial, to try in court).

13. Japanized form of "calaboose."

14. As soon as the Japanese contract laborers started to arrive, the Hawaiian Government appointed Jōji Nakayama in early 1885, for the general supervision of these Japanese immigrants. Nakayama's work was directly under Hawaiian jurisdiction, and although a Japanese consulate had already been established, he handled practically all immigrant affairs and was regarded as more important than the consular representative in the eyes of the Japanese laborers. Accordingly, this particular verse is definitely a satire on the relations between the well-paid Nakayama and the contract laborers with wages of nine dollars a month.

15. "In December, 1899, the bubonic plague made its appearance in Honolulu, and many plague deaths occurred in the so-called Honolulu's Chinatown district. Since sanitary science then knew fire as the only sure disinfectant for a plague-infected house, the Board of Health decided to burn a portion of Chinatown on January 20, 1900. In the morning, after careful preparations were made, the cleansing fire was set on one of the dwellings. Unfortunately, however, the fire by force of circumstances leaped beyond the limits set for the purpose and swept away nearly a dozen blocks of buildings, raging fiercely nearly all day." (Wakukawa, 1938:112).

16. A form of Chinese gambling, Japanized from the Cantonese, *Chee Fah*.

17. Corruption of the Hawaiian word *molowā* (lazy).

18. *Fufu* from *huhu*, Hawaiian term for "angry."

19. Hawaiian term referring to irrigation work in the canefields. *Hana* means "work," and *wai* for "water."

20. *Pāke*, Hawaiian term for "Chinese," and *san* is a Japanese affectionate suffix.

21. Corrupted form of the Hawaiian word *moe* (sleep).

22. *Akāhi* is Hawaiian for "one," and *kala*, Hawaiianized form of "dollar."

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LESSONS FROM WAIAHOLE-WAIKANE*

James A. Geschwender

> ... the foundations for democracy in Hawaii were laid by the ILWU because they freed the working man of the plantations ... from the economic and political control of management; because they enabled him to realize that they had dignity, that they were citizens who had a right to participate in such little government as we had ....
>
> John A. Burns

The successful struggle for unionization led by the ILWU brought a measure of economic democracy to Hawaii just as the joint building of the Democratic Party by the ILWU and Japanese-American veterans brought a measure of political democracy. Over time, McCarthyism and its very success eroded the crusading spirit of the ILWU and transformed it into a "bread-and-butter" union reminiscent of the majority of the American trade union movement. Similarly, the crusading spirit of the Democratic Party seemed to wane as it achieved greater amounts of success and the Republican Party faded into virtual oblivion. In recent years, the fight for social and economic justice reemerged in the form of various community struggles.

Opposition to the Vietnam War brought a revival of political activism and helped to develop a sense of political efficacy, create solidarity, and allow opportunities for political socialization. Some of this political activism had begun to spill over into other causes even before the end of the war, but the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam freed up large amounts of energy to be directed to local issues. There was an evolution of issues around which the political activists coalesced ranging from environmental destruction (Save Our Surf in the mid-sixties and Life of the Land more recently) and the public use of state land (Sand Island and Mokuea) to eviction struggles (Ota Camp and the occupation of Kalama Valley). Each of these was interrelated in that they often drew upon some of the same participants and were increasingly interpreted within an ideological framework which tied them together as parts of a larger and more comprehensive struggle. Perhaps the

most important of these struggles came over Waiahole-Waikane. I say this, in part, because of the magnitude of the victory; in part, because a community won out in struggle with private land owners who were attempting to use their land in a manner which was both legal and consistent with past practice; but primarily because of the lessons that were learned in the course of this struggle which may be applied to future community struggles. It will be necessary to briefly reconstruct the historical sequence of events prior to a discussion of the lessons themselves.

The Battle over Waiahole-Waikane[1]

The struggle over Waiahole-Waikane can be divided into four relatively distinct phases. I will discuss each of these in turn, but it will be useful to first set the stage with a brief presentation of the context. Waiahole and Waikane are two well watered valleys located on Oahu's windward side. They are not completely separated from one another by any mountains so they have, to a certain extent, come to form a common area. Over time, Lincoln McCandless acquired a large portion of the habitable land in the valleys. Sprinkled among his holdings were a number of small, individually owned plots of land, some of which may be traced back to kuleana grants. At his death, the land was passed on to his children who took on the collective legal identity of the McCandless Heirs. Continued immigration combined with an expanded tourist industry to place intense pressure upon existing land utilization patterns. Some marginal lands were taken out of sugar and pineapple production, but the greatest source of land for residential and tourist development was that in rural areas which had been utilized in agricultural production for the home market. It is not surprising that in this context the McCandless Heirs would see the potential for profitable development of Waiahole-Waikane. They phased out long-term leases between 1956 and 1959. Thereafter, all of their tenants held month-to-month leases which would make evictions possible with a 28 day notice.

Thus at the beginning of 1974 the valleys were populated by persons in four different types of circumstances: some tenants worked in the city, lived in the valleys and might or might not grow some produce for their own use and/or occasional sale for extra income; some tenants lived in the valleys and farmed commercially; some tenants lived elsewhere but leased valley land for commercial agriculture; and

some small landowners who generally worked in the city and otherwise resembled the first group of tenants described herein. The residents were also ethnically mixed. Almost half (46%) were pure or part-Hawaiian; 20 percent were Japanese-Americans; 17 percent were Filipino-American; 12 percent were haole; and 5 percent fell into other categories. Most persons tended to be long-term residents of the valleys. Their educational and income levels tended to be lower than those characterizing Oahu as a whole.

Phase One. The first phase of the struggle was one of community mobilization. The McCandless Heirs filed a letter of intent with the State on December 1, 1973, in which they stated their intention to rezone 1,337 acres of agricultural land in Waiahole and Waikane (752 acres were to be rezoned urban and 583 acres to be rezoned rural, which would allow large-lot residential construction). This letter was not immediately made public but windward residents were already sensitized to the possibility of such development. Kahaluu (a neighboring valley) and Kuilima had recently experienced development activities and windward residents had previously organized themselves to oppose further development on that side of Oahu.

Outsiders in expensive cars were observed driving the dirt roads of Waiahole and Waikane in January and February, 1974. This created fears and speculation regarding imminent development which were intensified in February and March when Robert Anderson of the University of Hawaii conducted a survey of valley residents for development planners under the guise of doing objective scholarly research. Bob Nakata, director of the Key Project in Kahaluu, had, as a member of the Windward Regional Council, already participated in a Vista supported survey of agriculture in Waiahole-Waikane as part of a long-term plan for resisting further development on the windward side. Nakata had a background of community organizing and was the nephew of Sei Serikaku, one of the larger farmers in Waiahole. Nakata was made aware of events, went to Honolulu, discovered the letter of intent, and began meeting with groups of Waiahole-Waikane farmers in January and February, 1974. At a very early point he brought to these meetings representatives of Life of the Land (an organization of political activists concerned with ecology among other things) and Pete Thompson (a part-Hawaiian community organizer, then associated with the Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawaii, who had been involved in previous windward community struggles). Shortly thereafter, Pete Thompson left for a trip to the Peoples

Republic of China and did not play an active role until after his return in July or August.

A general meeting of Waiahole-Waikane residents was held on April 8, the Waiahole-Waikane Community Association (WWCA) was formed, a Steering Committee was elected on April 24, and Bobby Fernandez was elected president on May 6. The McCandless Heirs filed a revised rezoning request on June 30, 1974, which, along with subsequent revisions, described three five-year development stages which would culminate in some 6,700 housing units and over 20,000 residents. Waiahole-Waikane would be transformed until it was barely distinguishable from many areas of urban Honolulu. The WWCA was determined to resist these plans and began to formulate strategy.

This period of community mobilization was not without problems. People with diverse economic interests had to be brought together in common cause. Racial/ethnic differences caused some tensions which had to be overcome. Racial/ethnic and economic lines of cleavage tended to reinforce each other as most of the larger and more affluent farmers were Japanese-Americans. These cleavages were further reinforced when the WWCA elections, for the most part, placed the larger landowners and more affluent farmers in positions where they might disproportionately influence decision making. While the associated tensions were never fully overcome, it is fortunate that the WWCA had a period of time to build its organization and plan a defense of the valleys without the additional tensions that would have been created by crisis confrontations. Thus the WWCA had the time required for the valley residents to develop a sense of common threat, of communality of interests, of solidarity, and of mutual trust before it became necessary to directly confront the enemy.

Phase Two. The second phase began with the State Land Use Commission Hearings to consider McCandless Heirs' request to rezone the valleys. The hearings were held on October 24, 1974, after having been postponed from October 10. The WWCA settled upon a strategy which emphasized environmental and life style issues. Attempts were made to elicit public support by noting that development would remove two productive valleys from agriculture increasing Hawaii's dependence upon imported food, would lead to worse contamination of Kaneohe Bay, would cause increased congestion on already overcrowded highways, would destroy one of the few remaining natural areas on

Oahu, would contribute to increased air pollution, and would destroy a meaningful and healthy life style for a number of persons.

This strategy was fairly successful. Governor George Ariyoshi expressed his desire to keep the valleys in diversified agriculture and Mayor Frank Fasi indicated his opposition to development. Twenty thousand people, including Senator Daniel Inouye, signed an anti-development petition which was presented at the hearings attended by more than 800 WWCA members and supporters who held up signs, sang, and chanted their opposition to development. On December 20, 1974, the State Land Use Commission voted seven to zero, with two abstentions, to deny the rezoning request. The McCandless Heirs had apparently anticipated this outcome. They submitted a revised proposal directly to the WWCA on October 29 which the WWCA rejected on November 4.

This victory for the WWCA did not bring the matter to a close although things remained quiet for several months. On December 21, 1974, the McCandless Heirs assigned full ownership rights to one of their members, Mrs. Loy McCandless Marks, in exchange for some land on leeward Oahu. Nothing further happened until May 1, 1975, when all tenants received a letter from Mrs. Marks informing them that she was now the sole owner, that leases would have to be renegotiated effective June 1, and that a survey indicated the need to increase rents in accordance with increased land value and an anticipated tax increase. On May 5, the WWCA formed a negotiating committee to handle all of the tenants' leases and on May 19, attorney Michael Hare was given their power of attorney.

It was announced on May 22 that developer Joe Pao had purchased the 2,868 acres owned by Mrs. Marks in Waiahole and Waikane. This sale was not registered and no details were released at the time. It later became clear that only a small portion of Waikane was purchased outright--the portion scheduled for development in the first five-year phase of the development plan discussed above. The purchase of the remainder of Waikane was contingent upon rezoning. An option to buy was taken on Waiahole land, had to be exercised prior to November 1, 1977, and was also presumably dependent upon favorable rezoning. Pao stated that he would soon announce a new plan to keep agriculture in the valleys at the same time that some land would be rezoned urban. He further stated that if his rezoning request was denied then he would develop the land in large lot (two acres) residential units. On

June 2 the Waikane tenants received letters from Mrs. Marks cancelling their leases effective June 1 and informing them that their new landlord, the Pao Investment Company, would contact them shortly regarding their future tenancy. On June 3 the Waiahole tenants received letters from Mrs. Marks raising their rents effective July 1 by amounts ranging from 50 to 745 percent.

The Waiahole tenants objected to the magnitude of the increases, arguing that much of the increase in land value was a result of their own efforts. In many cases they had cleared the land, built the roads, developed the water supply, constructed the sewage system and built their own homes. Some even paid their own taxes in addition to paying rent. On July 1, 92 out of 120 lesees presented Mrs. Marks with a common check for their rent at the old rates. When this was refused they set up a trust fund into which they continued to pay rent at the former rate.

Meanwhile a June 24 newspaper article stated that Joe Pao had submitted a request to the City Department of Land Utilization for a subdivision of property lines to enable the construction of residential housing on two acre lots in Waikane. Pao initiated a search for funding for his development plans. On July 16, Pao announced the formation of Windward Partners to develop Waiahole-Waikane, in part, with funds provided by Honolulu Federal. Windward Partners included such labor leaders as Art Rutledge and Hal Lewis along with former State legislator Mitsuyuki Kido. This was followed by a period of intensified maneuvering for position characterized by massive amounts of propaganda being issued by both sides in the attempt to elicit public support. Mrs. Marks attempted to destroy the unity of the Waiahole tenants by offering new one-year leases (cancellable with sixty days notice) at rents below those previously set, but above the former rates. The opportunity to farm with some degree of security led some Waiahole tenants to sign the leases which she offered, although most tenants refused.

This was followed by a period of jockeying over rents in which Windward Partners accepted August rents from the Waikane tenants and Mrs. Marks accepted back payments of Waiahole July rents but refused checks for August. Finally in August, all Waiahole tenants who had not signed new leases received eviction notices; on August 14, Joe Pao filed an official request with the City Department of Land Utilization to develop 130 large houselots in Waikane; and Waikane

tenants were given notice of eviction effective on September 30 with the end of their current leases. The WWCA announced that neither the Waiahole nor the Waikane tenants had any intention of leaving. They would remain and the valleys would remain in agriculture.

The WWCA continued to pursue the same basic strategy. In addition to marches, demonstrations and picketing, a rally was held at the Waiahole elementary school on September 8. It included a potluck lunch, speeches and entertainment, but the key feature was hiking and jeep tours of the valley initiated on this date and continuing for several months. These were supplemented by a benefit concert held at the bandshell in Waikiki in January, 1976. This included an exhibit of the sights, sounds and feel of country living to a crowd attracted by some of the biggest names in Hawaiian folk and popular music. These tactics again appeared to be effective when on January 24, the City Department of Land Utilization denied Pao's request for large lot development of Waikane. He submitted a revised request which was also rejected in early March. A new proposal was submitted to, and rejected by, the WWCA. However, these victories again proved elusive. On April 22, 1976, Judge Arthur S.K. Fong granted a final order to Mrs. Marks to repossess the land of nine Waikane residents and on May 5 he ordered the eviction of seventy-nine Waiahole tenants.

Transition Between Phases. These events mark the beginning of the transition between phases two and three. The membership of the WWCA was beginning to wonder exactly what it would take to end the struggle. They organized, educated the public, gained support, won what appeared to be important victories, and yet still appeared on the verge of defeat when October 1, 1976, was set as the eviction date for Waiahole. It began to appear that everything was stacked in favor of the developer and the landlord. They had enough resources that they could afford to have endless patience. If a particular proposal was rejected by one agency a revised version could be resubmitted to be followed by another and another until one finally was accepted. At the very worst, the developer and landlord might have to wait until the composition of the agencies was altered—partially through their efforts—with the recalcitrant members being replaced by others who would be more cooperative. In other words, every Waihole-Waikane victory could prove to be nothing more than a brief setback for the developer and the landlord while a single developer victory

would spell the end for Waiahole-Waikane. Thus, it is not surprising that a portion of the WWCA membership was becoming increasingly desperate, increasingly strident and was increasingly attracted toward more confrontation oriented tactics.

Of relevance at this point is the fact that the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) had been organized in October, 1975, out of a group of radicals who had formerly been associated with the Revolutionary Union. While their general line of analysis predisposed them toward "point of production" organizing efforts, they also recognized that there were some unique features to the Hawaii scene which would require that they pay some attention to community struggles. Some people close to the RCP had already been involved in the Waiahole-Waikane struggle, and they were able to convince the remainder of the leadership that this was a struggle that they should support. From their inception they focused a certain amount of their energy on Waiahole-Waikane and other eviction fights but by fall, 1976, they had decided to make the Waiahole-Waikane fight their number one priority. They attempted to build a strong support base in the community at the same time as they sought to present a class analysis to the membership of the WWCA. They were partially successful in both objectives. A number of support groups were developed among students, workers, G.I.'s, the unemployed, and welfare recipients. Persons close to the RCP were at the core of each of the support groups. The presentation of the RCP line of analysis helped to stimulate the formation of a group within the WWCA which called itself "Up In Arms." This group was primarily made up of smaller landowners and tenants who were urban blue collar workers. They accepted a class analysis and urged a strategy which would involve the seeking of allies from other groups on a class basis and which would utilize more militant confrontation-oriented tactics.

The debate within the WWCA raged during late summer and early fall, 1976, culminating in the election of the majority of the WWCA steering committee from the ranks of "Up In Arms." This was reflected in the content of the September 25 rally at the Waiahole-Waikane school. The highlight of this rally was not a tour of the valley but a mock eviction drill. After a series of speeches a siren signalled an alert and indicated the section of land "invaded" by the police. A crowd of between 600 and 1,000 people rushed to the threatened house, formed several rows of arm-linked people, and then repulsed four simulated police

attacks. This was reported in the newspapers and over television, informing the entire community that evictions would not come easy.

The WWCA sought a stay of execution of the eviction orders and won a conditional stay. Judge Fong agreed to stay the evictions so that an appeal to the State Supreme Court might be pursued, but he made the stay conditional upon the WWCA turning the rental trust fund over to him and increasing their payments into the fund by 50 percent. This was hotly debated within the WWCA with the earlier group of leaders urging compliance and the "Up In Arms" faction opposing it. The debate was acrimonious before the WWCA voted 39 to 36 not to accept those conditions. With this vote a number of the larger landowners and more affluent farmers drifted away from the association, completing the transition to the third phase of the struggle. This vote also ultimately led to the setting of January 3, 1977, as the final eviction date for the seventy-nine Waiahole families.

Phase Three. The interim period was marked by continued maneuvering for position. Windward Partners made another proposal which was rejected. The WWCA held several demonstrations, the most noteworthy of which took place in front of police headquarters. Police were reminded of their class, ethnic and kinship ties to Waiahole-Waikane residents and asked not to participate in any evictions. Then on January 2 a tent city was set up in Waiahole. Each of the various support groups occupied one or more tents and a large number of additional people came to the valley during the day but returned to their own homes at night. The sheriff came on January 3 to serve writs of possession effective immediately. A team of observers equipped with citizen band radios warned of his coming so he was greeted by an arm-linked crowd of several hundred persons blocking the only road into the valley. The writs were served, accepted and burned. The sheriff left and nothing more happened that day.

By early afternoon on Tuesday, January 4, the force at tent city had become considerably reduced. Many people had to leave to go to their jobs, meet other obligations, or simply became bored. That night, around 11:00 p.m., another alert was sounded. It was believed that a police eviction team was en route. Within minutes a half-mile stretch of Kamehameha Highway on either side of Waiahole was blockaded. Traffic on the windward side was brought to a total stop for more than an hour. The blockade was not lifted until

after trusted police sources gave their word that eviction teams would not come that night. These two blockades were extremely important. The Governor and his aides were now convinced that evictions could not take place without a major confrontation. They wished to avoid this. The Governor persuaded Mrs. Marks to postpone any further eviction attempts until March 1 to give him an opportunity to work out a peaceful solution.

The WWCA intensified its efforts to build public support during this intermission. Demonstrations and marches were held. Strong public support was exhibited on February 9 and 10 when the State Land Use Commission held hearings on the request by Windward Partners to have a portion of Waikane rezoned urban. Another benefit concert was held—this time at Waiahole—and attracted a crowd of 6,000 persons who tied up traffic on the windward side for hours. Then finally on February 26, Governor George Ariyoshi made an announcement which led many WWCA members and supporters to call him the "six million dollar man." He announced that the State would pay Mrs. Marks $6,000,000 for 600 acres of Waiahole valley which would be developed along a "village agriculture" concept. All present valley residents would be assured long-term leases at low rentals. However, all of this would only be possible if Windward Partners chose not to exercise its option to purchase Waiahole.

On April 18, 1977, Joe Pao died. In August the State Land Use Commission rejected Windward Partner's request to have Waikane rezoned urban. Windward Partners allowed the November 1 deadline to pass without exercising its option and the State carried out its agreement to purchase the land from Mrs. Marks. It appeared once again that the WWCA had won but the victory was not total. Nine Waikane families still faced a threat of eviction, although large-scale development of their valley now seemed to be ruled out. The State purchase of Waiahole did not include the land makai of Kamehameha Highway and about twelve families lived there. In addition, the Governor's commitments regarding future State actions were not overly specific. Much still remained to be nailed down. Nevertheless, the third phase of the struggle appeared to have ended with a significant victory for the WWCA

Phase Four. The fourth phase of the struggle has been marked by the WWCA's attempts to expand and consolidate its victories. It has not been entirely successful in this regard. The apparent victory had the

ironic effect of contributing to the withering away of the WWCA's support base. Powerful community forces became concerned over Windward Partners' economic well being and exerted pressure to insure that it did not completely lose its investment. Windward Partners applied for permission to develop a 144 lot subdivision on 391 of the 537 acres that it owned at the entrance to Waikane. This proposal was opposed by both the WWCA and the Board of Water Supply who suggested that difficulties would result from an absence of sewage disposal facilities and a ban against ground disposal. Windward Partners was anxious to salvage something from its investment, the WWCA was concerned over the possible eviction of the Waikane tenants, and it was not overly confident regarding its ability to entirely block development in Waikane. Thus a bargain was struck. The WWCA agreed to withdraw all opposition to Windward Partners' scaled down plan to develop 31 lots in a 90 acre agricultural subdivision of Waikane if, in exchange, all Waikane tenants facing eviction were granted land which would enable them to remain.

Armed with this agreement, Windward Partners was able to gain approval from the City's Land Utilization Department and the City Council. They were later able, over WWCA opposition, to gain approval of a plan for a five acre subdivision in Waikane Valley on the makai side of Kamehameha Highway. To this date, the State of Hawaii has not announced its plans for Waiahole. It appears to have retreated a bit from earlier assurances that all present residents would receive long-term leases. The struggle continues with the WWCA attempting to insure that the valley will remain in agriculture and that all current residents will be issued long-term leases at fair (low) rentals. Even though we have not seen the final chapter, I believe that we may still draw some lessons from this struggle.

Lessons from Waiahole-Waikane[2]

The first and most important of these lessons is that power may be created—it is not a fixed commodity. At the outset of the struggle described above it was clear where the power lay. The residents of Waiahole-Waikane were workers and farmers without much in the way of wealth, education or political influence. Their opponents were large landlord members of an influential family, a developer with economic and political influence and a record of having developed some of the major residential areas on Oahu, and

others with either a direct financial interest in the project or an interest in maintaining the rights of owners of private property to do as they wished with their property so long as it was consistent with the public welfare. What Mrs. Marks and Windward Partners were attempting was both legal and consistent with recent precedent. In short, all of the cards were stacked against the WWCA and yet over the course of a several year struggle they were able to win a major and significant victory. Never before had a community group won in a direct confrontation with the owners of private property. This is an important example for other community groups to note. Given the right conditions, the wise selection of tactics, and the development of proper alliances new power may be created and victory over powerful interests may be possible--not easy, but possible.

The second important lesson is that such victories over wealth and property tend to be elusive. Time and time again, the WWCA won an apparent victory only to have its opponents retreat, regroup and return with a slightly modified proposal. It appeared that the developer and the landlord had an endless supply of resources which could sustain them over an extended multi-phase struggle while the resources of the WWCA were severely limited. The WWCA was doomed to an inevitable defeat if it were not able to mobilize sufficient new resources to enable it to sustain its struggle as long as its wealthy opponents could. The WWCA was able to do this through its selection of tactics and its attraction of allies.

The third lesson has to do with the distinction between allies and supporters and the need for a movement to generate and retain internal solidarity. Both of these are closely related to the manner in which the movement chooses to define the issues and to the types of tactics that it selects. As you will recall, the WWCA defined the issues during the second phase of the struggle primarily in terms of the negative environmental and life style impacts of development. In so doing, it was able to generate a great deal of support from various, primarily middle class, groups around Hawaii. These supporters were happy to give money, sign petitions and write letters. Many were also willing to march, picket and demonstrate. However, for the most part, these supporters restricted their participation to legal and somewhat respectable activities. It is clear that the WWCA would have been defeated if the movement had not altered its focus and attracted allies rather than supporters.

The WWCA redefined the major issue in the third phase of the struggle to be that of the class struggle of tenants and workers against landlords and capital. It reached out to seek alliances with all others who were involved in similar battles against capital. One group that responded to this appeal was the RCP, which helped organize support groups from among various worker and student groups who perceived themselves engaged in similar battles against capital. These allies saw no need to restrict themselves to legal and/or respectable tactics. The battle against capital was too important for such handicaps. Individual allies were willing to lay themselves on the line for the WWCA because they saw any victory over capital as a collective victory which could be generalized to include their own cause. They were willing to go further than the middle-class supporters in phase two because they were fighting for their own class interests and not simply supporting the interests of the WWCA.

The WWCA could not have won its struggle without the transition from phase two to phase three. If it had relied upon supporters committed to obeying the law, the residents would have been evicted on January 3, 1977, and the battle would have ended there. However, by relying on class allies it was able to repulse eviction attempts and win at least a partial victory.

However, I wish to make myself very clear at this point. I am not suggesting that the strategy used during the second phase was mistaken. On the contrary, it was exactly correct. The WWCA needed a period of struggle in which to generate the combination of a sense of strength and solidarity and futility. The victories, even if elusive, gave the former while the dawning realization that no victory was final gave the latter. The second phase prepared the membership and supporters of the WWCA for the transition between the second and third phases--even then some were lost. If the movement had begun with the confrontation, class-oriented tactics, it probably never would have been able to generate the strength it needed to win.

This also illustrates the importance of unity within a movement. One or more members of the WWCA had participated in the Kalama Valley fight against evictions. A cleavage developed in the course of that struggle between locals who were primarily oriented toward community issues on the one side and haoles and radicals (who were largely haole) on the other.

A vote was taken and both haoles and radicals were evicted from the camp of those occupying the valley. Others left with them and the police were able to easily overwhelm those who remained. It is not possible to determine whether there was ever any real chance for success at Kalama, but it is clear that disunity cut the heart out of that struggle. The WWCA was determined that this would not happen at Waiahole-Waikane. Racial/ethnic tensions existed and many persons were uncomfortable over the presence of radicals but such cleavages were not allowed to hamper the larger struggle. It would appear that the acceptance of a consistent and comprehensive ideology may be useful in helping to cement solidarity, develop allies, and select appropriate and effective tactics. The RCP appears to have played a significant role in this regard.

The one remaining lesson has already been implied but it should now be underlined—tactics should be chosen in terms of their effectiveness not their legality or respectability. Social movements inevitably involve a battle between the relatively powerful and the relatively powerless. One side normally possesses property and political influence. Laws are written to protect these interests and they are selectively enforced along the same lines. The other side normally lacks wealth and political influence. Laws do not protect their interests. For them to obey all laws and to seek respectability is to abandon the struggle without having made a real effort to win.

If these lessons are all properly learned by the people of Hawaii they will be manifested in a legacy of struggle which will lead to an expansion of the economic and political democracy achieved through the struggles of the ILWU and the Japanese-American World War Two veterans. The unfinished revolution in Hawaii will be pushed further toward completion. However, all returns are not in and we cannot as yet ascertain the extent to which these lessons—especially those regarding class and racial/ethnic unity—have been learned.

Notes

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[1]I would like to say a few things about the reasons that this research was undertaken and about the research procedures used. I came to Hawaii in August, 1976, to spend my sabbatical year conducting research on the historical interplay between race and class in Hawaii. I heard about the Waiahole-Waikane struggle shortly after arriving and I entered into it as a simple "foot soldier." I had no intention of conducting research or writing about the struggle. My values required that I participate despite the fact that, at this time, I believed that the struggle would end in defeat. However, I reassessed the situation after the Governor announced his plans to purchase 600 acres of Waiahole. I believed that we had numerous accounts of "glorious lost causes" but that we lacked very many good analyses of winning struggles. I also believed that to write about a losing struggle would simply have made me another outsider who "ripped off" the residents of Waiahole-Waikane for my own benefit but writing about a victorious struggle might help other groups faced with similar situations in the future. Thus I attempted to introspectively recreate those activities in which I had participated. This was supplemented by interviews with other participants and with key figures. I followed this up by researching newspaper accounts, various original state and private documents, and scholarly studies—historical and otherwise. I then wrote up preliminary analyses of the struggle, showed these interpretations to several key participants, received their criticisms, and then made revisions where they appeared appropriate. This is not the account of a dispassionate observer but it is objective in the sense that it accords with reality.

[2]These lessons are presented in lay language but those readers who would prefer presentations which more closely correspond to traditional scholarly style and which relate these findings (lessons) to the larger body of scholarly literature may wish to consult the following:

James A. Geschwender, "On power and powerlessness: or with a little help from our friends," in Milton Yinger and Stephen Cutler (eds.), *Major Social Issues: A Multi-Disciplinary View* (New York: The Free Press, 1978).

James A. Geschwender, "On the selection of strategy and tactics in social movements: Waiahole-Waikane in struggle," to be included in a forthcoming book on social movements edited by Jo Freeman.

James A. Geschwender, "On the role of the vanguard party today: a case study of the Revolutionary Communist Party at Waiahole-Waikane," to be included in Louis Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, Vol. 5 (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, forthcoming).

DESIGNING HONOLULU: AN INTERPRETATION

Luciano Minerbi

This paper is based on the author's research on the local community decision process in physical planning.[1] Recent accomplishments and the Development Plan process are reviewed and current constraints for urban design are identified. The local community faces both institutional conflicts and polarizing issues. The conflicts include intergovernmental and interagency relations, and interneighborhood differences. The polarizing issues relate to: growth versus no growth, urban sprawl versus containment, overzoning versus downzoning, and owners' versus renters' interests. Programmatic and legislative actions for improving a community's ability to resolve conflicts are identified and discussed, including development rights, guidance tools, and interneighborhood decision rules.

Recent Efforts

Urban design is becoming a prominent item on Honolulu's public agenda. The emergence of urban design as an integral component of city planning can be traced to the Revised City Charter of 1972. The Charter mandates (1) the preparation of a new General Plan for Oahu (subsequently adopted by City Council resolution in 1977), (2) the preparation of Development Plans which are relatively detailed schemes for implementing the objectives and policies of the General Plan within the several parts of the city, and (3) the establishment of Neighborhood Boards to "increase and assure effective citizen participation in the decisions of the city."[2]

Thirty-one policies on physical development and urban design are explicitly referred to in the 1977 Oahu General Plan. These policies are concerned with coordinating physical development, directing growth centers, allocating capital improvement program funds, and improving the form and physical appearance of the urban environment.[3]

The first of eight Development Plans has been completed in 1979 by the Department of General Planning.[4] Urban design principles and controls are supposed to be an integral element of the Development Plans along with land use standards and principles. A five-phase urban design procedure was in fact envisioned for the Development Plan. These phases are: (1) reconnaissance, (2) islandwide design objectives, (3) urban design standards and spatial area design plans, (4) neighborhood prototype plans and implementation measures, and (5) visual public presentation of findings. However the urban design element in the draft of the Development Plan ordinance is not as extensive as it could have been from the full utilization of the technical reports.[5]

The importance of urban design is apparently being promoted also by policy-making bodies. The City Council, in recognition of design accomplishments on the mainland, has been sponsoring seminars which are intended to improve community awareness of urban design. Design professionals from the mainland are invited to speak on the functional applications of urban design principles to Honolulu's natural and man-made environment. The Council has been considering the establishment of an Advisory Subcommittee of Design Professionals which would review the development proposals for significant buildings and areas.

State interest in urban design seems evident also. Thus far, funds have been allocated for (1) a generalized urban design demonstration study, (2) Hawaii's Coastal Zone Management Program including objectives and policies for protecting and preserving the quality of coastal scenic and open space resources, and (3) a demonstration study for urban district renewal. In addition, the 1978 State Legislature adopted a State General Plan, apparently the first in the nation enacted as law, which mandates Hawaii's four counties to consider urban design in their local plans.

A number of additional actions to foster urban design have been enacted by the City Council:

a. Special Districts have been enacted to protect the historical, cultural and scenic character of the Hawaii Capital, the Diamond Head and Punchbowl Districts.

b. Interim Development Control Areas have been established for Moiliili/McCully, Chinatown, Punchbowl, Upper Manoa and Kakaako to limit growth until the new Development plan is adopted.

c. Waikiki and Kakaako have been declared Special Design Districts to guide their development and recognize their unique role in the city.

d. The urban waterfront has been designated a Spatial Management Area.

Indeed, these are tangible accomplishments. They suggest that design considerations may not be disregarded as they have been in the past. But what are the most apparent conflicts which need to be resolved and what will be the likely outcome of these efforts as far as urban design is concerned.

Institutional Conflicts

Institutional conflicts which hinder urban design exist at all levels of government. Conflicts occur when human, technical, financial or natural resources are under administrations that compete for a share of power, represent different interests, or have different visions of what needs to be done. However, a recent trend is that competing sides promote their cause by advocating better urban design.

State versus Honolulu City and County

The political divergence between the State and the City and County Administration does not foster coordination on planning and urban design matters. For example, in the last ten years mass transit has been an unresolved issue, while the urban pattern has been developing to accommodate the car with disregard for this important service. The design of the urban waterfront has been moving more slowly than it would if land exchanges between the two levels of government were encouraged.

Urban design implementation is also complicated by (1) the five-to-one disparity between the State and County fiscal resources, (2) the occasional overlapping of responsibilities, and (3) the division of planning tasks along functional lines. For example the City and County has zoning jurisdiction only over the Urban Districts (22 percent of the island of Oahu), but the State has control over the amount of land that can be released for urban use, according to the well-known Land Use Law of 1961. This law has been under attack by the City Chief Planning Officer, who contended that the power of zoning urban land and the power of regulating the supply of urban land should be under one jurisdiction: the city government.

The City and County Administration is concerned over what is considered State interference in local affairs, while at times the State steps in claiming County inaction. Two recent examples are relevant:

a. The 1978 State General Plan Law was passed only after the section mandating the counties to conform their General Plans to the State Functional Plans was changed the other way around by the "home rule" supporters. This change now indicates that County General Plans and Development Plans shall be used as a "basis" for the formulation of the State Functional Plans.

b. The State move to create the Hawaii Community Development Authority for inner-city redevelopment is considered by the City and County to be an interference in its Development Plan process and in its geographical jurisdiction.

There are now conciliatory moves. An example is the creation by the State Legislature of an eighteen member board to resolve state-county disputes over the State Plan.

City and County Council versus City and County Administration

When the City and County Council attempted to hire urban design consultants to study the redevelopment of the industrial district of Kakaako in order not to rely solely on the Chief Planning Officer (appointed by the Mayor), it was challenged on legal bases by the City and County Administration. The administration's position was that the power of setting policies rests with the Council, but the task of doing planning should remain with the City Administration. But these inter-governmental conflicts are also a reflection of the conflicts between private interest groups: the landowners promoting the district redevelopment and the business firms attempting to remain in the area.

Neighborhood Boards versus City and County Government

Although it seems that the government is collaborating well with the twenty-seven neighborhood boards, the Boards are not apparently strongly supported, as their limited budget and their purely advisory role indicate. Possible reasons are that: (1) The Boards

are seen as just an additional interest group to deal with, and not as the primary interlocutor to listen to, and (2) There is no intention to let the Boards' activity expand into a decision-making one regarding planning and zoning matters. However the Boards remain the most legitimate grass-roots representatives of geographically identifiable small communities, because their unpaid members are elected by their fellow neighbors at the smallest existing electoral district level. Their legitimacy has improved with the increase in voter turnout due to the mail-in ballot implemented in the latest election, as contrasted to the primary voting at the poll booth. There are some embryonic efforts to marshal support among voters to amend the City Charter through initiative to give the Boards more planning and zoning powers to exercise in their neighborhoods. This is in contrast to moves to abolish the Boards altogether.

Neighborhood Boards versus Neighborhood Boards

Neighborhood Boards represent a geographically identifiable community, a natural client for good neighborhood design and an important experiment in participatory democracy. However, the Boards are a very young institution, and still the collective wisdom of a Board does not appear to be more than that of the sum of its members: The Boards behave like the ordinary citizen who, too late, discovers things that affect him, wants all the good ones and none of the bad, and, in any case, usually lacks the resources to follow through.

But the Boards now provide their input to the Development Plan, which includes more than one neighborhood, so they must identify and resolve inter-neighborhood conflicts to achieve a common platform. If they are unable to do so, other pressure groups or lobby organizations, often closer to the decision makers, will prevail. For example, a major issue facing the Boards of the Central Honolulu Development Plan area is how to distribute in the various neighborhoods the target population allocated to the area by the General Plan.

Polarizing Issues

There are a number of issues that polarize the public debate in Honolulu, and have profound implications for the procedural and substantive aspects of

urban design. Their identification is a first constructive step toward their reconciliation.

Growth versus No-growth

The adoption of a growth or no-growth oriented policy has definite implications for the rate of change of the urban form and pattern of the city. The City and County General Plan contemplates a population growth rate of 2 percent a year on the island of Oahu from 1975 to 2000. The allocation of this population growth of 200,000 people to the various development plan areas, and its phasing in five-year intervals over the twenty-five year time horizon, are the keys to minimizing the adverse effects of the city rebuilding process on the residents, when growth guidance techniques (such as Contract Zoning, Incremental Zoning, and Quota of Building) are available.

Urban Sprawl versus Containment

The City and County-General Plan envisions a new town of 80,000 people in Ewa, West of Honolulu, on good agricultural land. This town is a way to provide affordable houses, but they will be located away from urban opportunities and will foster urban sprawl adversely affecting Central Oahu water recharge areas.

Subsequent downward revisions of population projections for the year 2000, along with other considerations, suggest that the new town option might not be necessary after all. The remaining alternative is then the "containment" strategy--the limited Oahu land mass, the need to protect agricultural and open space land, the current low urban densities (seven persons per acre in 1970), and the opportunity to use Mixed Vertical Zoning suggest that the target population of 900,000 for the year 2000 be accommodated within the present urban districts at a density of ten and one half persons per acre. This alternative will require many urban design considerations such as human scale structures, pedestrian accessibility, proximity to opportunities, mixed uses, open space protection, energy conservation and mass transit.

But all this cannot be achieved without the firm political commitment to protect the rights of the residents. The major problem with this alternative—or any other one that would entail the redevelopment

of the existing urban districts—is the inadequacy of programs (1) to take care of the relocation hardship of families and businesses, (2) to protect their rights to remain in an area, to temporary relocation, and return after redevelopment, (3) to preserve the social fabric of the community, (4) to retain an affordable cost of living, and (5) to undertake design schemes at the neighborhood level. It remains to be seen how well State and City and County policies and programs will address to some of these questions.

Overzoning versus Downzoning

Overzoning a city without spelling out three-dimensional urban form implications does not achieve good urban design. The 1965 City and County General Plan zoned the Central Honolulu District for 200,000 people above the current population level and 100,000 people above the target population for the year 2000. Overzoning contributed to increased land values and disordered highrise development, pre-empting any negotiation with developers for the provision of community amenities.

Residents are becoming aware of this situation, and are now discussing the notion that the new plan should consistently downzone urban districts to current uses. Of course, downzoning is mainly supported by renters and owner-occupants, and upzoning by absentee landowners who want to speculate on property values.

Owners versus Renters

The urban form of Honolulu will largely result from the interplay of different desires of absentee landlords, owner-occupants, or renters in a given area and their ability to organize their input in the preparation and implementation of the Development Plans. Islandwide, 41 percent of the privately-owned land was leased land in 1971-1974. The Honolulu urban corridor is already zoned for high density urban development, and its percentage of all housing units which are owner-occupied is less than 30 percent on level land. Higher owner occupancy percentages occur, instead, in the urban valleys, ridges, and select district east of Central Honolulu.

It can be easily predicted that pressure for City rebuilding will occur (1) on land owned by large

landowners (where leases are expiring as in Kakaako and Kahala) and (2) in districts with high percentages of absentee landowners and renters (such as Makiki, McCully-Moiliili, and Palama. Current experience indicates that the physical development these areas will undergo may be done with little design concern and will adversely affect residents and businesses located there.

Other Central Honolulu districts, such as Waikiki, Makiki, and Salt Lake, are obvious examples of gross disregard for urban design due to landowner pressures, inadequate legislation and lack of imagination. The redevelopment of Aala, of Chinatown (opposed by the People Against Chinatown Eviction organization), and of Kakaako (where business firms run the risk of being displaced) indicate that, without a strong political commitment to protect residents, city rebuilding will be costly to them.

Toward Conflict Resolution

There is no question that the residents of an area are an essential constituency to foster community-oriented planning and design. It is also becoming more apparent that the burden of redevelopment cannot be placed solely on renters. Legislation and programs to assure their protection are essential, both for equity considerations and to minimize opposition to the rebuilding Development Rights of the City to accommodate legitimate demand for more housing.

The power of zoning rests theoretically with the community and politically with the decision makers, but it is usually dictated by the landowners. New, more equitable legislation is needed to assure that the right of development be allocated among the landowners, the residents and the city government.

The rationale for this legalized redistribution of development rights is that (1) the landowner makes available his resources and receives a return; (2) the resident and business lessee suggest district design principles consistent with user needs and have some funds to implement their proposals; and (3) the government has funds for policy implementation and infrastructure and service provision in the area to accommodate planned growth.

Guidance Tools

Urban Design cannot be achieved with traditional zoning alone; more sophisticated guidance tools, like Contract Zoning, Conditional Zoning, Vertical Mixed Zoning, Incentive Zoning, Transfer of Development Rights, Land Value Recapture, Land Readjustment, Land Reserve, Cross Subsidy, or Building Permit Quotas, are needed to achieve pressing community objectives. However it should be noted that land use guidance is only the precondition for good urban design, but it is not yet the three-dimensional design of the city at its metropolitan, neighborhood and city block scales.[6]

Inter-neighborhood Conflict Resolution

Neighborhood Boards must establish a framework for community design and inter-neighborhood conflict resolution. This framework should include:

a. A socio-economic-environmental accounting system of neighborhood assets and liabilities. Steps in this direction are:

   1. The "Data Book" prepared for each neighborhood by the City and County Department of General Planning.

   2. The "Neighborhood Surveys" conducted by some of the Boards.

   3. The "Neighborhood Resource Inventory" undertaken by the Boards under the supervision of the same agency.

   4. A list of Capital Improvement Projects grouped by neighborhood areas (now available only by council districts).

   5. A procedure for the boards to involve their constituency in the evaluation of the above information.

b. Agreed upon rules for inter-neighborhood allocation of various urban services, functions, infrastructures. Nobody wants additional population, low-income families, half-way houses, power poles, thru-traffic, and parking lots in their district, yet they must somehow be provided in the city. If residents of an area are unwilling to take their share of "undesirable items," then they should be ready and able to pay for excluding them. In this manner districts which accommodate these "undesirables" could be better planned having available a greater share of Capital Improvement and Social Program funds, to be renounced by those districts which do not want to accommodate growth.

New directions for urban design are emerging in Honolulu, but the path consistent with the definition of community-oriented urban design is not yet set. Authoritarianism, speculation and elitism are strong influences in physical planning and design.

Energy saving is not easily achieved with a rapid transit superimposed on a city built for the car. Community self-reliance requires much more than the advisory services of the neighborhood boards. As long as development plans are done by line agencies and consultants and not through "design competitions," they are not adequately enriched with community debate and are not yet community products. Urban design conferences must leave the hotels and become urban design workshops accessible to the community and integrated with people's neighborhood fairs and carnivals. Institutional innovations and incentives are required to promote and facilitate the involvement of the average citizen in urban affairs, by allowing tax deductions for residents' active participation in neighborhood planning activities. Neighborhood boards must acquire a more responsible attitude to help in metropolitan planning and design. Self-sufficiency must evolve from the experimental stage; swap meets, people's markets, and urban gardens need to be provided at the neighborhood level with greater assistance from the government. A new urban ethics protecting the needs of tenants and users of the city is not yet established; attitudes toward "low income residents" are still conservative. Human-scale-oriented design is difficult to implement when the city is already built without this concern, but at least any new structure should fit the "new" urban pattern in addition to the old one.

Notes and References

1. This paper implies a definition of urban design presented by the author in his paper "Community Design: a Definition and an Example," in Ann Farebee (ed.), *First National Conference on Urban Design Proceedings*, Washington, D.C.: R. C. Publications, Inc., 1978, pp. 365-372.

   There are various introductory books on urban design: A historical perspective is provided by Gallion-Eisner in *The Urban Pattern*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975; a planning interpretation by Jonathan Barnett in *Urban*

Design as Public Policies, Architectural Records Books, 1974; a functional discussion by Victor Gruen in *Centers for the Urban Environment-Survival of Cities*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973; a cultural-sociological discussion by Amos Rapport in *Human Aspects of Urban Form*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1977 and by Herman Berkman in *Urban Design in Cultural Perspective: An Exploratory Essay*, East-West Center,Open Grant, Honolulu, 1975; a methodological approach by Cristopher Alexander and others in the *Oregon Experiment*, Oxford University Press, 1975 and *Notes on the Synthesis of Forms*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1964; and an analytical one by Kelvin Lynch in *The Image of the City*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1960.

Finally a useful compendium is the *Glossary of Planning Terms* of the City and County of Honolulu, Office of Council Services, Honolulu, May, 1979.

2. The scope, content, preparation, adoption and public input of the General Plan and Development Plan are spelled out in the *Revised Charter* of the City and County of Honolulu in 1972. The intents of the *Revised Charter* are explained in the *Final Report of the Charter Commission City and County of Honolulu*, 1971-1972. The *Revised Charter* calls for a *Neighborhood Plan* to be developed by the Neighborhood Commission. This plan, approved by the Mayor in August 1975, spells out the genesis, mode of operation, election procedures, powers and responsibilities of the Neighborhood Boards.

3. See: City and County of Honolulu, *General Plan Objectives and Policies*, Exhibit A, Resolution No. 238, January 18, 1977.

4. The *Development Plan Ordinance-Primary Urban Center* was to be reviewed by the City and County Planning Commission in May 1980 and by the City and County Council thereafter. As subsequent drafts of the ordinance are evolving, an analysis of what has been put in, and subsequently taken out, reveals the nature of the community debate with regard to physical planning in Honolulu.

5. See: Sedway/Cooke and Aotani and Associates, *Honolulu Urban and Regional Design Study*, Honolulu, 1979.

6. A short definition of the guidance tools is provided below. The reader is referred to the following reports:

-Michael J. Meshenberg, *The Administration of Flexible Zoning Techniques*, Report No. 318, Planning Advisory Service, American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago, 1976.

-Rahenkamp Sachs Wells, Inc. and American Society of Planning Officials, *Innovative Zoning: A Digest of the Literature*, U.S. Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.,1977.

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-Contract zoning is an agreement between the city and a developer to grant a rezoning to provide certain uses within a certain time.

-Conditional Zoning is an ordinance which grants a rezoning effective only upon performance by the developer of certain conditions.

-Vertical Mixed Zoning is an ordinance which requires different uses at different floors in the same building.

-Incentive Zoning is an ordinance which gives bonuses to the developer in exchange for providing public amenities.

-Transfer of Development Rights is an ordinance which transfers the development rights from the parcel of land to which they are attached to another one, so that development is directed to certain sites, and away from others, without cost to the government.

-Land Value Recapture is a provision which taxes landowners for windfall profits on their property due to various governmental actions.

-Land Readjustment is a regulation to phase private development with public infrastructure and service provision in a redeveloping area by disregarding the constraints of property boundaries and recognizing each landowner interest as a percentage of the overall redevelopment scheme.

-Land Reserve is a provision of the Land Readjustment Scheme which requires a certain percentage of the redeveloped area to be set aside for community purposes at no cost to the government.

-Cross Subsidy consist of (1) public land acquisition for low cost housing, and (2) resale to commercial interests of part of it at a price high enough to cover overall land and site improvement costs.

-Building Permit Quotas is the control of densities and development phases through the issuance of building permits.

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN HAWAII

Elizabeth Wittermans

Some twenty years ago, I collected data on Hawaii's residents of various ethnic backgrounds in an attempt to identify the social structure of Hawaii at that time (Wittermans, 1964).

It was not meant to be an intensive study of one particular community, but rather a broad-gauged overall research encompassing documentary research, participant observation and interviews among members of the main ethnic communities. The reason for selecting this framework was my belief that, once the structure would have been identified, it could serve as a background for a series of more intensive studies, each dealing with one specific community. Various circumstances prevented such a follow-up, and my subsequent work led me in different directions. Perhaps now the time has come for a look back.

Hawaii's Social Structure in 1960

Briefly stated, my findings at that time showed a society composed of several ethnic communities, each having preserved and/or created a body of norms, values, and behavior patterns considered to be each one's specific heritage. Ethnic awareness was found to be evident in uniracial associations and groups, including the family, as well as in symbolic behavior. However, there also seemed to be an ideology, which was found to have the characteristics of a "Hawaiian creed." It consisted of the belief that Hawaii's multi-racial population lives and works in harmony, a belief found to have moral overtones.

As for the future, evidence pointed in the direction of further segmentation, and a re-emergence of ethnic pride, not towards assimilation, as predicted by earlier authors (Adams, 1934, 1937).[1]

Hawaii's Present Structure

Can we still characterize Hawaii's social structure as a pluralistic one? Or, to put it differently, are

the various ethnic communities strongly conscious of their ethnicity, and do they express that consciousness (a) in verbal behavior, and (b) in their ordering of social relations.

I have not embarked upon a serious diachronic study, but it may yet be possible to make some cautious observations. First, let us compare the population figures.

TABLE 1. Ethnic Distribution in Hawaii (1960 and 1979)

	1960 (%)	1979 (%)[a]
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	16.3	18.7
Caucasians	32.0	26.9
Chinese	6.0	4.2
Japanese	32.2	25.2
Filipino	10.9	9.7
Mixed (Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Negro, and Others)[b]	2.9	14.3

[a]The 1979 figures were taken from table 10 of a report on: "Crime in Hawaii," by the *Hawaii Criminal Justice Statistical Analysis Center* since they were the most recent official figures available

[b]Puerto Ricans are included in the Mixed category in 1960 and in the Caucasian category in 1979; the Mixed category in 1979 includes Samoans, Vietnamese, and Laotians.

Although Caucasians and Japanese still constitute the two largest ethnic communities in the state, the Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and the Mixed categories have shown the most growth during this time period.

Are these ethnic components still readily recognizable as such? The answer has to be affirmative since the same symbols that characterized them twenty years ago are still being used now. There still are all-Japanese and all-Chinese associations, ethnic beauty contests, a Japanese language paper, and radio and T.V. foreign language programs. Moreover, the newly arrived Indo-Chinese immigrants are in their first stage of material and social adaptation. Their langage and other problems make intra-group support a necessity, so at this stage, their ethnic identity and awareness are very evident. The same is true for the Samoans, Tongans, and the most recent waves of Filipino immigrants.

Verbal and Written Expressions of Ethnic Awareness

We already mentioned the foreign language press and media programs. Most of the obviously racial references have disappeared from the public eye. No longer do we find in the newspapers requests for housing by "AJA couple," nor jobs offered to "AJA preferred." The terms "local" or "Oriental" are still sometimes used in ads, but usually by would-be tenants, less so by those who advertise vacancies. The ads that specifically ask for "Japanese-speaking" sales personnel may or may not be racially inspired, but certainly can be defended on the basis of their practicality.

These examples reflect the negative side of ethnic awareness: rejection of other races. Far more evident is the positive aspect of ethnic pride that has been emerging within the Hawaiian ethnic community.

In 1960, the emergence of ethnic pride was most marked among the young generation of Japanese ancestry, although within the other Oriental categories there was some evidence of a similar development. Among the Hawaiians, however, such trends did not surface then. Judging from the force and scope of the present re-birth of Hawaiian ethnic pride now, there probably have been strong emotional forces at work during those years, waiting to be released, but they were not easily identifiable. Verbal expression of these sentiments are at present almost overwhelming. They range from vociferous claims to Hawaiian sites held by the military, such as those generated by the Kahoolawe bombing site controversy, to emotional outpourings at such occasions as the departure of the canoe *Hoku'lea* for Tahiti. There is also a veritable outburst of new Hawaiian music compositions and a surge of Hawaiian writing by Hawaiians. This revitalization of Hawaiian culture is even more significant in their ordering of social relations, as we shall discuss later.

Ethnic Consciousness and the Ordering of Social Relations

The forces that induce people to either seek or reject each other's company are often—although by no means exclusively—based on ethnic awareness. For that reason, social researchers pay a good deal of attention to patterns of either mono-racial or multi-racial education, housing, work opportunity, and recreation.

Hawaii, in 1960, did not share the problems of racial segregation, and subsequent attempts at desegregation in the schools, that so many other states of the Union experienced. The Department of Education in Hawaii did, and still does, distribute its resources more or less evenly over the various schools in the state. In areas where there is a predominant Caucasian population, for example near military bases, or where the schools are close to Hawaiian Home Lands, or to former plantation areas, the school population will reflect the particular ethnic composition of that environment. Therefore, in spite of the availability of resources, the difference in ethnic composition may affect the general performance of the student body, but only if the ethnic composition runs parallel with differences in levels of social proficiency. The child whose home environment supports and enriches the school curriculum will be better equipped to succeed in life than the child whose home environment is a denial of the values and skills taught in school, no matter what racial category the child belongs to.

Also in other areas, such as housing, labor and recreation, Hawaii's ordering of social relations has escaped the harsh color-based segregation patterns. And, whatever evidence of housing covenants and club restrictions could still be found in 1960 has at present disappeared publicly. Yet, racism exists underground, only coming to the surface on certain occasions. For example, a recent cause célèbre in one of Honolulu's yacht clubs,[2] where an argument ended in the shooting of one of its members, had a race-related history. One of the first Japanese members to be admitted to the club had, when crossing the finish line in a club race eight years earlier, hoisted the Japanese flag after his boat won the race. This incident made him at least one enemy: the man who shot him eight years later after a row at the club. In another case, a misunderstanding about the agenda of the State Department of Land and Natural Resources,[3] which failed to include a request made by a Hawaiian organization, caused a bitterly disappointed member of the Hawaiian organization to make a racial slur on a member of the Department, who happened to be of Japanese ancestry.

Many more examples could be given to show that racism is alive and well in Hawaii in spite of the absence of legal and social constraints on the basis of race. However, let us observe the area usually considered to be the litmus test of a society's racism, namely that of interracial marriage. This

is indeed a crucial indicator in most mainland states, but in Hawaii, where interracial marriage has never been legally prohibited, it is of less significance. Still, in a society where racial discrimination is generally subtle and underground, it is one of the indices easily available for comparison, and therefore frequently mentioned as evidence of Hawaii's ideal interracial relations (the "Hawaiian Creed!").

Let us look at the available figures. In 1960, the rate of outmarriage, i.e., that of marriages outside one's own ethnic category, was 37.3 percent. In 1978, the most recent figure available to me, it was 37.9 percent. Not exactly a spectacular gain, but still an impressive figure when compared with other states. Now let us look more closely at the figures for some ethnic communities separately:

TABLE 2. Inter-ethnic Marriage by Ethnicity (1960 and 1978)

Ancestry	1960	1978
Chinese		
brides	52.8	66.2
grooms	50.7	62.6
Japanese		
brides	23.8	43.4
grooms	13.6	38.6
Caucasian		
brides	20.0	19.3
grooms	37.9	24.1
Filipinos		
brides	47.4	55.0
grooms	51.5	47.3
Part-Hawaiians		
brides	56.7	61.1
grooms	43.9	58.0

Here we find that the outmarriage rate of ethnic communities has generally increased, especially in the smaller communities, but, interestingly, also among the Japanese. It is to be expected that the smaller communities would show a higher outmarriage rate than the larger groups where a wider choice of

compatible marriage partners exists within the group. The small number of full-blooded Hawaiians, counted in Department of Health population statistics as a separate category, had a high rate of outmarriage (87.2%), which certainly comes as no surprise, especially if we may assume that a marriage between a full-blooded Hawaiian and a Part-Hawaiian was counted as an outmarriage. Actually, these marriages between Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, or between different Oriental categories, do not have the same significance as intermarriage between communities which in earlier days did not intermarry. Therefore, if we are concerned with inter-racial attitudes, the outmarriage rate of Caucasians will be the most important. Also, it is here where a comparison with other states would be at all possible.

What we find is that the outmarriage rate of Caucasians has declined, instead of increased, as it did in most other ethnic communities. Whatever the reason—and in the absence of a thorough longitudinal study, I shall refrain from guesswork—it is clear that there is no evidence of an increase in the rate of integration through intermarriage on the part of Caucasians.

The Hawaiian Movement

This subject deserves full treatment and years of research. I shall only mention it briefly here because it provides a good example of a social movement which is in the process of re-ordering social relations and re-interpreting social values in many areas. The re-emergence of ethnic pride reaches out, not only into cultural areas, such as music and dance, but also into the political arena, as shown in the establishment of an Office of Hawaiian Affairs. It has also strongly influenced the educational establishment, ranging from the tremendous growth of Hawaiiana subjects in public and private schools to the recent inauguration of a Hawaiian Studies Program at U.H.-Manoa. Even the long-endured negligence of the Hawaiian language has given way to instruction on various levels of education, and its promoters have even been successful in introducing the "'okina" (glottal stop) and the "kahakō" (macron) in official publications and streetnames. They also corrected the pronunciation of Hawaiian names by newscasters, which is hoped to ensure it a wider diffusion.

Structural Dynamics

Observing Hawaii's changing social structure, we may note the following stages:

Phase One: A pre-Western, relatively homogeneous society.

Phase Two: A dualistic society. With the coming of Westerners and their impact on many areas of activities including the acquisition of food and clothing as well as religion, recreation and educational skills, a dichotomy emerged between Hawaiian society and the West. This dichotomy encompassed economic, political and socio-cultural areas.

Phase Three: A pluralistic society. The arrival of plantation workers from many lands transformed one part of the dual society, the non-Western part, into a plurality. The Caucasians generally maintained their socio-economic dominance.

Phase Four: The present. It is difficult to identify with precision trends in a society that is so much in flux at this time as is Hawaii, due to (1) its multimillion tourist industry, which has a strong impact on the population as a whole, (2) the steady immigration of Indo-Chinese refugees which has shown no let-up during the past five years, and (3) the emerging "Hawaiian renaissance," which itself means different things to different people. The growth of some fairly recent settlements too, for example that of the Samoans, and the latest wave of Filipino immigrants, have not been without problems, usually due to competitive sentiments.

Among all these criss-crossing goals and ways of life, in a state that itself has only recently become a state of the union and still is somewhat unaccustomed to the rights and privileges as well as the duties of that position, we might venture to point out two important social trends. In the first place, there is the matter of Caucasian dominance mentioned earlier. Due to the rapid rise of Japanese, Korean, Chinese and other ethnic communities, both in socio-economic position and in the fields of learning as well as artistic pursuits, the Caucasian community no longer can be seen as the one dominating force in Hawaiian society. If this trend continues, it would make Hawaiian society more truly pluralistic, for then it would ideally be a society in which all ethnic communities would share top positions as well as other positions down the social pyramid.

A second trend, almost the exact opposite of the first, is also noticeable. It is the tendency to negate or neutralize the segmentary character of Hawaiian society, in other words to play down the matter of race and culture, and instead to appeal to experiences all local communities share; the early experiences that make Hawaii home for them. The primary appeal is to Hawaii as a shared place of birth. This eliminates a large number of Hawaii residents born elsewhere. Then there are those who have shared school experiences, often beginning in grade school and continuing on in work, play, and other forms of association. There are other principles of organization, for example the so-called "Palaka Movement"[4] ("palaka" was the gingham cloth used for work clothes by plantation workers in the old days). This attempt, which so far has had little success, appeals nostalgically to the days when mutual help was often shown by workers, regardless of race, because they were united by their opposition toward the white owners and managers. The reason may be that for the younger generations the plantation days are often more than a generation removed and therefore do not generate much sentimental thinking, especially since, thanks to their upward striving progenitors, their present is more attractive than their past. What may still be vibrating deep inside, however, is the resentment long harbored by their parents or grandparents against the "haole" managers or overseers, and easily evoked by any incidents of discriminatory behavior, whether real or imagined.

Will the future bring further plurification and greater equality or a narrowing down of inter-ethnic relations, retrogressing towards a dual system?

Most likely, a little of both. Depending on the social situation, we may see representatives of different communities cooperating with each other and mutually reinforcing each other's efforts, but we may also see sudden flare-ups of old resentments, especially when social and economic positions are perceived as being threatened. The dichotomy between "local" and "non-local" (the latter may include "coast haoles" as well as newly arrived Filipinos, Samoans, and other immigrants) can already be seen as a source of many instances of violence. This situation may worsen, but I would personally doubt there will be a reversal towards a dualistic system. The pluralistic forces, and the lack of educational and occupational constraints in the islands will, I believe, cross-cut such narrowing trends. Typical

of Hawaii's pattern of racism is that complaints about racial discrimination are not only directed towards Caucasians. Probably a much larger amount of complaints is being leveled at those of Japanese ancestry, especially by Hawaiians, but also by Caucasians, and racial slurs against any of the ethnic communities can be heard daily, although they are rare in print. It is this dispersed character of Hawaii's racist behavior which, I believe, is its most hopeful feature.

NOTES

1. In the wake of these early writings, the "melting pot" theme has been a favorite in all publications on Hawaii's race relations until the sixties.

2. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 12, 1980.

3. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 23, 1980.

4. Hagino (1978) was written in connection with the then upcoming State Constitutional Convention. A lengthy interview with the author appeared in the *Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser* of January 21, 1979.

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TAMING OF THE SAMURAI: NEW STYLES OF COMMUNICATION

Elizabeth Nakaeda Kunimoto

"Please tell our wives and sweethearts to be patient and understanding with us," said the representative of the Japanese Junior Chamber of Commerce. He was a member of the Cherry Blossom festival committee, and had asked me to speak about communication to more than fifty women whose men were involved in working for the annual event, which included cultural and promotional activities with the queen candidates, the pageant, and the coronation ball. Because of the many hours spent away from home during the pageant arrangements, often in the company of young, attractive queen candidates, the men expressed concern about the reaction of their wives and fiancées. Although he and another committee member were the only men present at the talk, "Communicating with a *Samurai*," they felt that an address on communication was worth involving the men also and invited me to address the entire assembly at the annual banquet. This acknowledgment indicated to me that there has been an evolution in the communication style of American males of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii.

Many films and articles have depicted the stereotype of the native Japanese male as a dominating figure whose communication with his wife was minimal in comparison with his business associates. This cultural pattern is illustrated by the AJA husband who does not express appreciation and affection to his wife, because after all, "if I am still married to her that means that I must still love her, and therefore, talk is unnecessary." When he was younger, his teachers probably used to say in their reports to his parents, "He does not take part in classroom discussions."

In the Japanese culture action is believed to be more important than words, and silence is often considered to be golden. Expression of feelings is often suppressed, especially among men. Male-female roles and communication styles are clearly delineated. Women are to be submissive to men in status as well as degree of interaction. Feedback, particularly negative feedback, is discouraged among women.

The following examples are indicative of the evolving communication styles among AJA males in Hawaii:

"Only four fights in 17 years of marriage"

A businessman's wife left him suddenly after seventeen years of marriage. He had been the envy of his colleagues, because his wife, although American, typified the "ideal," submissive Japanese woman. Of all the daughters-in-law, she was clearly the favorite of her husband's parents. "I thought we were happily married," he said, "because in all these years we'd only had four fights." However, he realized that this was probably because he had permitted few opportunities for feedback in his marriage and that his wife's restraint was not an expression of contentment. His resolution was, "Hell, if I marry again, I'm going to ask my wife at least once a week whether she's happy. I'll give her a chance to tell me how she feels. I'll probably ask her, 'Any beefs? Be sure you let me know. Now's your chance.'"

"You can change even after 80 ..."

An 85-year-old AJA man who once ran his household like a feudal lord told his five daughters-in-law that they should understand that a man needs his recreation and that they should be uncomplaining when their husbands left them to go out with their friends. However, over the years he has changed, saying that all his sons should give credit to their wives for whatever success they have achieved in their professional endeavors and they must consider their wives' needs, including their need for recreation. Today he is taking care of his ailing 80-year-old wife, waiting on her as she had served him during sixty years of marriage. Five years ago when he was eighty, he found that his legs were too stiff to reach the curb as he walked. He sent for books on health, read omniverously, exercised, and within a year became agile enough to perform a high kick. His statement regarding his changing attitude toward women was this: "I found that if you could re-condition your body after eighty, then you could also re-condition your attitudes."

"The children are your recreation ..."

When a young mother complained to her husband about his going out with his friends several times a week, leaving her alone with the children, he refuted, "I need my recreation." However, when she countered, "What about my recreation?" he replied, "You play with our children every day. That is your recreation." Later,

when the wife earned her doctorate and attended conferences in Europe and on the mainland and left him for a semester of study during her sabbatical, their friends marveled at the change in her *samurai* husband.

Social science researchers may regard the evolution of the communication style of the AJA male in Hawaii as a confirmation of various hypotheses in intercultural communication, social learning theory, and in the adoption of innovations.

Intercultural Communication

The wives at the Cherry Blossom Festival lecture indicated that what they wanted from their husbands was acknowledgment in the form of expressions of appreciation and affection. They complained that the men often took it for granted that their wives knew what their feelings were without their expressing them. This lack of expression was apparently both verbal and nonverbal and yet, nonverbal messages often affect interpersonal relationships even more strongly than do verbal messages (Kunimoto, 1971). Their husbands, the women explained, often fulfilled the stereotype of the "inscrutable Oriental."

Since each identity group can be said to have its own pattern of behavioral norms, each group may be said to have its own culture (Singer, 1976). Sex is categorized as one of the cultural varibles, and male-female relationships can be considered to be one of the most significant forms of intercultural communication. The ability to communicate and the level of satisfaction in interpersonal relationships were found to be positively correlated (Kunimoto, 1977). Much of the phenomena dealt with nonverbal stimuli: body language, including eye contact, facial expressions, posture, and gesture; and paralanguage, including rate, intonation, quality, and volume. Nonverbal messages indicate status, dominance, liking, and degree of response. They also indicate warmth, empathy, and genuiness (Carkhuff, 1971).

Social Learning Theory

The acquisition of novel responses through observational learning and through modeling or imitation is an integral part of social learning theory (Bandura, 1963). AJA males in Hawaii have had considerable interaction with members of diverse cultural groups in business and professional contexts. They have been active in the public and private sectors and have had many encounters

with males of other ethnic groups, who have more egalitarian relationships with their wives and so may have served as role models. In the case of the *samurai* whose marriage was intact after his wife left him during her sabbatical, he had received a great deal of managerial and communication training on his job. He had traveled extensively on the Continent, including several visits to Washington, D.C. He had advanced rapidly in his organization and, as vice-president, had on a regular basis met executives from other divisions, a number of whom could be called cosmopolites.

Since modeling or imitation is an interactive, two-way process, consideration must also be given to the AJA wife's educational background, attitudes, and experiences. In fact, the wife is an important change agent herself, particularly if she has attended "consciousness-raising" seminars. "Strategies for the Upward Mobility of the Asian/Pacific American Woman," an example of such an institute, was held at the East-West Center in April to build the kinds of skills that would enable the AJA woman to both effect and manage change.

Adoption of Innovative Behaviors

Much of intercultural communication is a matter of learning how to learn in new contexts. "Unconditioning" oneself in order to grasp the innovative, more appropriate behavior in the new environment is closely related to the findings in the communication of innovations, pioneered by Everett Rogers, whose research has been replicated by many other scholars. Rogers (1971) has compiled the findings from these replications and has found that most of them confirm his hypotheses on the adoption of innovative behavior. Among the adopters were those with travel experience, achievement motivation, more years of formal education, upward social mobility, literacy, cultural empathy, cosmopoliteness, willingness to take risks, and contact with change agents. Rogers found no significant difference in the age of early adopters; this is exemplified by the 85-year-old man mentioned previously who was willing to experience considerable change "after 80" in affective as well as psychomotor outcomes. This man also meets many of the descriptors of the early adopters, such as empathy, literacy, willingness to take risks, and contact with change agents. Acquaintances in social and religious organizations served as his change agents as well as the writers of the many books on health that he had sent for. Adoption of innovative behaviors has enabled this man and those like himself to change more effectively.

The communication style of the AJA male in Hawaii, much of which could be studied as a phenomenon of intercultural communication, seems to have changed over the years through the impact of modeling and the adoption of innovative behaviors. Future studies could incorporate an in-depth analysis of behaviors, utilizing the theories of social learning and adoption of innovation. Such studies would be contributing to the ethnography of communication* (Prosser, 1978) in Hawaii.

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*The ethnography of communication is the attempt to map a culture or community by studying the communication events, and the various components of communication which interact in the event itself. Such components include the message, the participants in communication codes (such as language or nonverbal cues), and media or channels.

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LOCAL DOCUMENTATION: ON COMING OF AGE IN HAWAII

Local documentation, as discussed in volume 27 of this journal, includes the efforts of undergraduate students and non-social science professionals in the local community to articulate their personal and everyday life perceptions and experiences, and to clarify the evidence and value-perspectives on which they are based. As in any community, young people often learn social values from the "talk-story" of their parents and grandparents. They then test and modify those values through their personal experiences, and more-or-less coherently pass on those stories and values to the next generation. These reports are included in *Social Process in Hawaii*, both as data presented by particular people, from particular backgrounds, at particular times, and also as examples of the local community coming to terms with its own evolution.

The following three essays are selections from longer pieces that won honorable mention in the 1980 Hormann Prize in Sociology. The complete essays are in the Hormann Prize files of the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

The Editors

2. PLANTATION LIFESTYLES: THE HAMAKUA COAST YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Gayle Sueda

The sugar plantation played an important role in developing Hawaii economically. The plantation system became the basis for Hawaii's income and provided jobs for many people. It opened Hawaii up to the world. People from many different cultures came to Hawaii seeking employment in anything from hard labor to managerial positions. Sugar helped to create a new lifestyle in Hawaii. These plantations shaped not only Hawaii's future, but also helped to create Hawaii's "melting pot" society. . . .

Among the people of various ethnic groups recruited to work on the plantations, were my grandparents from Japan. With the long hours and the strenuous canefield work, it was hard to have a real family life. The hardships of plantation life made it difficult to show love

to one's family members. Discipline seemed to be the main factor, along with each ethnic group's values, that kept a family together. Each person in the family was responsible for certain chores around the house. A wife had to wake up early each morning to prepare lunch for her husband and for her children who went to schools sponsored by the plantation. To earn extra money, many women worked in the fields too. Their work was just as hard as the men's but their pay was considerably less. Some women earned extra money by cooking lunches or doing laundry for plantation bachelors.

My grandmother did both. She worked for the plantation and did laundry for the single men. I remember my father telling how my grandmother used to wake up early to make lunch for her husband, her three children and herself. While her children went to school, she and my grandfather went to work in the canefields. On weekends, my grandmother and her two daughters did the laundry for the plantation bachelors. My aunty told me how hard it was to wash clothes that were caked with dirt and sweat and worn for a whole week by laborers. They had to boil the clothes and scrub the dirt off. They also had to mend and patch torn areas. After finishing the washing and the mending, they had to deliver the clean clothes.

Some women sold food like tofu (bean curd), soy sauce, and fresh eggs. Some people, especially the Japanese, worked as servants for white families. A couple I know worked for a Caucasian couple; the husband was a plantation manager. After he retired, the family moved to Hilo and took the Japanese couple with them. The couple served as servants both in and out of the house. They were given free room and board, and when the Caucasian couple died, the Japanese couple inherited the house they had lived in all those years. Sometimes young adult Japanese left their homes to work for Caucasian families to earn money for school. . . .

Eventually, some of the immigrants returned to their homelands, while others stayed in Hawaii or moved to the mainland. Some found themselves becoming unconsciously Americanized to a point where they no longer desired to return to their homelands. They found that they had changed in many ways from the people of their homelands. Many of them returned home to visit, but returned to Hawaii, where they had found a new lifestyle of their own.

They started businesses of their own, trying to provide their family with a better way of life. Soon private stores started to replace the plantation-owned stores, offering all the necessary things from food to household goods. I was told by my mother that after graduating from high school, she went to work for a family who owned a store servicing plantation workers. The store carried such things as food, material, furniture, jewelry, and so on. By this time, people had started to charge items bought from the stores. The owner of this particular store was such a kind-hearted man that he didn't push people to pay their bills, and eventually, after many years, he went bankrupt....

As the years have gone by, sugar plantations owned by small corporations have been bought out by larger firms. Many of the plantations have also merged, forming larger ones. In this way, sugar production has increased and corporations have become more powerful. However, there were many disadvantages to this, especially for the workers. With the merging of the plantations, the smaller mills have been closed, and sugar processing has been done in only one or two mills.

Almost ten years ago, C. Brewer and Company, Ltd., started building a large mill in Pepeekeo. When it was completed, they started closing down mills all along the Hilo coast. They closed the Hilo, Onomea, Pepeekeo, and Hakalau Sugar Companies, calling the new company the Hilo Coast Processing Company; it covers a distance of twenty miles. Most of the mills have been partially destroyed, and only remnants of the old mills and warehouses stand today. Many workers either lost their jobs or were relocated to other jobs, especially those who used to work in the mills. Cane trucks have had to travel longer distances to reach the mill, causing more cane debris on the highways. Workers also have had to travel longer distances to reach their work places. And people who originally worked only in their own plantation areas now cover areas in other parts of the newly formed plantation....

Today, plantation lunas are no longer only Caucasian men. Over the years, people of other ethnic backgrounds have been offered the position; women too. Their role has also changed. Instead of riding horses, they ride in trucks with CB radios. Because of the ILWU, inhumane treatment is no longer allowed or used on the workers. Only fifteen years ago, the majority of the lunas were either Caucasian or

Japanese. But for the past several years, the trend has been changing; today you find a lot of Filipinos and Portuguese. Being a luna has enabled many people to raise their social status. But for some, the rise in social status is not worth the other consequences that come with the position.

One man was offered a position as foreman after he crossed the picket line during a strike. Because of this, he was labeled a "scab" (strike-breaker) and by accepting the position, he alienated himself more from his fellow workers and friends. Though today many have forgotten this incident, and the younger workers do not know the story, the older workers remember what happened, and they still resent the man. In another case, a person was offered a foreman's job but turned it down, indicating that the elevation of social status is not of sole importance. There may be more disadvantages than advantages in this position. The duties demanded of a supervisor are burdensome. A supervisor may lose the friendship of the men he has worked with for many years, and the new position does not always win him their respect. The pay of a supervisor is a salary, without extra pay for overtime.

While the plantation companies have always provided housing for their workers, they have also given workers the opportunity to purchase their own land to build homes on. In 1952, my father purchased approximately 19,000 square feet at 4 cents per square foot. Paying approximately $600 for the land, he was able to build his own home on it. In those days, homes were built with the aid of your friends.

Homes provided by the plantations are in much better condition today. There's electricity and running water, just like any other house. Even today, rent for these homes is under or about $20 per month. Some of the land that was originally cane land is now being converted to subdivision home areas. The plantations are trying to close the so-called camps and are establishing communities. While camps included only one ethnic group, today's communities are racially mixed. For example, when a lot is going to be cleared for building homes, plantation families wanting to purchase a home in that area pull a lot number to see if their number falls within the number of houses that will be built. If it does, they may purchase a house in the subdivision. Since each house is numbered, a family lives in the house with the number they picked. There is no

separation of ethnic groups, nor can anyone choose his neighbors. All of the homes built are of the same style, the only difference being the number of bedrooms. So people are becoming more assimilated and are developing close friendships with people of different ethnic backgrounds. When there are parties, people from all ethnic groups are present.

Although modernization and progress have changed the organization and lifestyles of the plantation and its people, some things haven't changed.

In 1939, my grandfather, using money he had earned from working for the plantation and doing odd jobs, purchased a 17-acre piece of land for $4,000. The owner, of Japanese descent, had purchased the land under the government's Homestead Land Act to grow cane on. So when my grandfather bought the cane-growing land, agreements had to be made with the plantation regarding the harvesting and planting procedures. The income my grandfather received was based on the tonnage of cane and the price of sugar. The plantation took care of the big jobs, and my grandfather did chores like planting cane in areas missed by the plantation workers, fertilizing the field, and pulling and poisoning weeds to allow the young cane to absorb all of the fertilizer.

Today, my grandfather is ninety-two years old; we still have the lot, and we are still growing cane on it. Ever since I can remember, whenever it was harvest time (every other summer), we would go up to the field and work every day for the whole summer. The first thing we used to do was to gather the excess cane that had been missed by the tractors and put it in a large pile while they were still working on our field. Often we found cane already burnt, still attached to the soil. Then my grandfather or my parents would cut the cane with their cane knives, and we children would drag the cane to the pile. The idea was to take as much cane as possible to the mill.

Even after the harvesting moved to another field, we still went up to finish covering the field. The purpose was to clear the land so that the new shoots could grow. We used our jeep and trailer to carry the cane to either end of the field, and we dumped it down the sides of the gulch. Every four years the field had to be replanted. So the plantation brought their machines and manpower to do the job. After they had finished and the cane started to grow, my family and I would go up to the field and plant pieces of cane where nothing was growing.

I remember this well, because it was one of the things I hated most. The three of us children would carry the cane seed in our arms and follow either one of our parents or our grandfather. We would pass them the cane seed as they planted it in the ground. The terrible thing was the cane thorns. The thorns would go into your skin, on your arms, in your hands. It was painful and irritating, and the only way to get it out was to rub our hands in our hair, which did not work all the time.

Once the cane started growing, we would begin the tedious chore of pulling weeds, walking the field row by row. Then fertilizing had to be done by the adults. Many times my father would ask some of his friends to help him. He usually purchased the bags of fertilizer from the plantation. While the men did the fertilizing, my mother, my sister and brother and I would do other things, like picking up excess cane or pulling out weeds. As we got older, we helped with the fertilizing too. After the cane grew tall, there wasn't much for us to do. The cane was too tall to walk through and pull the weeds.

The cane had to be fertilized three times. My father usually did it by himself the first time and hired the plantation to do it the second time. The third time the plantation did it with their airplanes. These planes are crop dusters, which look similar to the planes used during World War I. About five years ago, the plantation stopped doing things like planting and fertilizing. Today each cane field owner either has to do the job himself or hire private people to do it, which is done a lot. Because of the low price of sugar these days, many private planters are not putting in as much work in their fields as they used to, including our family.

Looking back over the years, one can clearly say that the plantation, with its organization and operations, has helped to lay the economic and social foundations of Hawaii. Because of its existence, people from many countries have come here, forming the multi-ethnic society of Hawaii. Without the plantation, Hawaii might have been a totally different place.

I think that sugar will continue to be a major part of the Hawaiian economy. The old-timers have become too accustomed to plantation work to change at this stage of their lives. For many of the independent cane growers, it is integral to their lifestyle, and for some, it is too late to change

because of indebtedness accumulated over the years with the loss of sugar prices. And some of them are just waiting and hoping for a good year like 1974, when the price of sugar was at its peak. Young people with welding and mechanical skills are finding stable jobs on the plantations. Many times, the benefits offered by the plantations are better than in other businesses. With better management and deeper consideration for their workers, plantations in Hawaii can flourish for many years to come.

COUNTING INCHES BY CENTIMETERS: WHY HAWAIIAN CHILDREN DON'T MEASURE UP

Stacy Plunkett

[...This paper explores] the hypothesis that Hawaiian children underachieve in school (and ultimately, in life) because they have become foreigners to the school environment. Studies show that Hawaiians, as a group, have the poorest academic records in the state (Kubany, 1971:16); that one out of two Hawaiian children have problems in reading, writing and arithmetic (Werner, Bierman and French, 1971:113); that Hawaiian children have lower mean scores on standardized tests, and have more achievement and/or behavior problems than do Caucasian and Japanese children (Werner, Bierman and French, 1971:135-136); that Hawaiian enrollment in four-year liberal arts colleges is significantly lower in proportion to other ethnic groups (McNassor and Hongo, 1972:3-4); and that [many people], including Hawaiians [believe] that:

> Hawaiian youth are the most poorly educated, least well-off economically, have the least ambition, are ineffective politically, contribute the fewest community leaders, and hold the most unskilled jobs when compared with Japanese, Caucasian, Filipinos, Portuguese, Chinese and Koreans. (McNassor and Hongo, 1972:5)

Despite the staggering statistics, the popular notion that Hawaiians are "culturally deprived" or "culturally deficient" is certainly not true (Gallimore, 1969:30). One study revealed that "this seems to suggest a lack of achievement motivation rather than a lack of ability" (Werner, Bierman and French, 1971:121). This lack of achievement motivation, a

direct result of Hawaiians' feeling of alienation in the school environment, will be explored, as well as its causes and possible solution.

It should be noted here that this inquiry in no way intends to reflect the attitude of an adamant, accusatory activist. Rather, it has been researched and written from the viewpoint of a part-Hawaiian who has gone beyond the common image of a "Dumb Hawaiian," yet still feels its effects. For example, in a freshman world history class at this university, I was known as "The Hawaiian Girl" because I was the only person of Hawaiian ancestry in the class, the remainder being Caucasian and/or Oriental, including the instructor. At my place of employment, again, I am the only part-Hawaiian. This tends to reinforce the stereotype of Hawaiians being outside of the world of education and employment....

... Community values and customs also affect Hawaiian underachievement. One reason behind this is a difference in cultural values among ethnic groups in Hawaii. Hawaiians value independence and freedom, and warm, everlasting ties. The joys of today take precedence over planning for a vague, dubious future (McNassor and Hongo, 1972:1). Most Hawaiians will choose to honor a commitment to a friend, provide aid to another person, seek out situations of good fellowship, and so forth, before they will choose personal economic gain (Gallimore, 1968:10). Many Caucasians and Orientals, on the other hand, see these priorities in reverse. They value status and material wealth above satisfactory relationships. This is not to say that either is good or bad, right or wrong. It simply illustrates the existence of a difference in cultural values.

Another reason for Hawaiian underachievement is a difference among ethnic groups as to what gains admiration and respect, compounded by a fear of alienation. A person's status or material wealth is not nearly as important as his or her congeniality. Hawaiians value personal relationships to such an extent that they hesitate to do or say anything that would endanger these relationships. If a person has status, he or she must remain humble. If not, the person risks alienation. Anyone who seeks distinction by recounting accomplishments and acquisitions is liable of being accused of pretentiousness. Those who seek the spotlight will invariably become alienated from the group. The objective, therefore, is to minimize personal gain in order to maximize interpersonal harmony and satisfaction. Taking this into

consideration, it can be determined what types of relationships Hawaiians prefer. Generally, they find more satisfactory relationships with Filipinos and Portuguese, probably because of similarities in values and/or lifestyles.

[Another] reason for Hawaiian underachievement in the community is a dread of failure. Many Hawaiians, despite proven academic ability, hesitate to pursue academics because of this fear. Failure heightens or places emphasis on their deficiency. If the desire for personal gain increases the risk of public failure, shame or ridicule, then it is preferable to avoid the whole situation (McNassor and Hongo, 1972:16-19; Gallimore, 1968:10-13).

One painful incident in my life applies to many of these findings. During my senior year at the Kamehameha Schools, I found myself pursuing American middle-class achievements. I wished to "leave my mark" and "go out with a bang," so to speak, for the following reasons. First, I had attended this particular school from the age of five, as did all three children in my immediate family. Second, three generations before me, including my father, had graduated from this same school. Third, both my parents come from broken homes and turbulent childhoods, so their family ties are not exceptionally strong. As a result, the family that I identified with, the one I felt the most pride and security in belonging to, became the school and its part-Hawaiian student body. I became the editor-in-chief of the school newspaper, a student body officer, and class salutatorian.

This kind and amount of activity was entirely my decision. My parents never pushed me into it, but they were admittedly proud of my achievement. I took the commitments I made to these pursuits quite seriously, and I worked very hard during free periods, lunch, and after school to do a good job. I felt on top of the world, but not for long.

Several of my closest friends gradually became cold toward me. When I did find the time to be with them, they spoke minimally with me and then continued their conversations with each other. I was unable to discover how I must have offended them. Finally, one of them confided in me that the others felt I was "trying to be something that I was not" and was neglecting them in the process. I fully understood how they could arrive at such an accusation, but I wanted a chance to defend myself. I requested a

confrontation to allow us all to air our differences. The experience was one of the most bitter I have ever known, one which I shall never forget.

Happily enough, we all resumed our friendships, but added to my previously close feelings toward them now included an air of distrust. I am careful now to remember that personal achievement is worth pursuit, but not at the cost of inter-personal satisfaction. What I learned from this string of events affirms the Hawaiian concept of family identification, parental encouragement/discouragement, commitment to friends, the measure of success, and most importantly, the fear of alienation.

Between Hawaiians and Caucasians/Orientals, therefore, a difference in cultural values, a difference in the measure of success, and the fear of failure on the Hawaiians' part show how the Hawaiian lifestyle, values and customs are in contradiction with the qualities conducive to achievement. These qualities are carried over in the main measure of success: the school.

[...Other studies described in my paper suggest] that Hawaiian children identify with their extended families; that Hawaiian parents neither encourage nor discourage achievement in their children; that Hawaiian children learn that middle-class achievements are not essential to enjoyment in life; that Hawaiian children value success in interpersonal relationships over singular rewards gained through individual achievement, unless the rewards may be shared; that Hawaiian children avoid situations of potential personal gain if there is a risk of public failure; that Hawaiians achieve more often when allowed to use Pidgin English, when they learn through direct experience, and when cooperative stimulus is used; that Caucasians/Orientals are accustomed to instruction in modern American English, as well as the use of books and competitive stimulus; and that Hawaiians and Caucasians/Orientals believe their ways of life to be preferable to all others, but, comprising the majority of teachers, Caucasians/Orientals are in the position of advocating and asserting their beliefs over the minority of Hawaiian pupils.

To put it concisely, the values and beliefs with which Hawaiian children grow up are in direct conflict with those held by the dominant Caucasians/Orientals. The educational environment structured by Caucasians/Orientals is foreign to Hawaiians,

hence their difficulty in finding a suitable path to success, whichever type of success they choose.

Personally, I have been lucky in that I was able to bridge the gap between Hawaiian and Caucasian/Oriental educational philosophy. And though I have been able to learn by either method, I am more responsive and preferential to Hawaiian methods.

A possible solution lies in a philosophy called "cultural relativism." The core of this philosophy is respect for differences—a mutual respect. "Emphasis on the worth of many ways of life, not one, is an affirmation of the values of each culture. Such emphasis seeks to understand and to harmonize goals, not to judge and destroy those that do not dovetail with our own" (Herskovitz, 1972:11).

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3 THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF AALA PARK

Herb Ohta

... It has been suggested by Kaneshiro (1938) that the major racial groups congregated in Aala because it was a low rent area. While residential rents were low, business rents were regularly increased at the whim of the landowner (Ohta, 1978). Kaneshiro also emphasizes social distance and enmity between the live-in shopkeepers, who saved money on rent, and the other shop owners. [My recall and interviews] do not suggest this idea. In my youth [in the 1930s and 1940s], Aala was a flourishing business district and everyone made a great deal of money as business got better and better. In fact, the resident families donated money for parties and other social activities. I recall many community picnics at Ala Moana. The Filipino families brought *adobo* (chicken); the Chinese brought fried noodles, pork and crackseed for the kids; the Japanese brought *sushi* and barbeque; the Koreans brought *KalBi*, *Kim Chee*, etc. We all shared and exchanged food during lunch, and we all sat around the park relaxing, conversing and playing different games together.

My Childhood

I lived on 251 North King Street, directly opposite the park, with my aunt, uncle and cousins, upstairs at Aloha Curio Store which they owned. I helped around the store on weekends. I attended Cathedral School on Nuuanu (St. Louis at that time) because St. Louis High School in Kaimuki was used as a hospital during the war. Our neighbor on one side was Star Grill, a coffee shop and restaurant operated by a family from Okinawa. On the other side was Heiwado Jewelry Store operated by the Awamura family (whose daughter is presently Mrs. Daniel Inouye).

The buildings in the area were structured vertically (with the store on the street level and living quarters on the upper floor).

During the war, Aala Park field was dug up to construct bomb shelters, thus restricting our games. Most of us lived near the park; others lived several blocks away.

Peer Ethnicity

My peers were of varied ethnic backgrounds: Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, and Filipino. During the war, I was confronted with racial discrimination in school from some of my schoolmates. So I did a lot of fist fighting. However, I never fell victim to prejudice or discrimination from my friends and peers at Aala Park. I realize now that there was a lack of joint participation in school and the students were mere acquaintances. My best friend was Wallace Hong, now a civil engineer with the federal government here in Honolulu. We were the same age and his parents ran a Chinese candy shop (probably the largest in Honolulu at that time) about four stores away from ours. I used to help them in the making of coconut candy, squash, carrots, and an assortment of Chinese candy. The maker was an old grayish pleasant man from the old country who spoke little English. They used to give me 25 cents each afternoon that I helped. We took as much candy as we wanted for ourselves.

Joint Participation

In my teens after the war, we played football and baseball at the Park. No one was excluded unless they were too small, sick or too young (as we were to our elders during our childhood). In hindsight, ethnic identity (and ethnocentrism) may have entered the minds of those we excluded but that was not the reason for exclusion.

We challenged other neighborhood areas on weekends. The football games never got past half-time because we ended up fighting with the other team and sometimes these fights instigated a gang war. Each neighborhood had a gang but we were one of the strongest. The girls never played at the park; they invited one another to their homes. They were more concerned with popularity and physical attractiveness. The "gang" protected each of us from the outside world.

Kaneshiro (1938) states that residents living opposite each other (across the street) rarely stopped

for conversations. In my recollection, this is false; on Sundays the business families would get together for picnics at Ala Moana Park. A skeleton crew was left in the store, since shops hardly ever closed on Sundays and holidays. Intermarriages were few due to different ethnic values and different ethnic group sanctions. For example: a Chinese merchant (shop owner) was married to a Japanese woman. She would dress exactly like a Chinese in hairstyle, dress and she learned the language as if she were cut off from her own ethnicity. Thus, everyone knew she was Japanese. However, the Japanese were not against the marriage.

Weekends at Aala Park

The Japanese filled the theatres. The Filipinos would congregate from all over the island, all dressed up, playing checkers on the benches or forming a circle and playing the Malaysian game Sepak Raga (a game of kicking a hollow ball made of straw). People of other ethnicities participated in checkers and other card games.

A Sunday program at the Park included many religious activities. The Salvation Army and all the different denominations were represented. All shared equal time in different ethnic languages in a program which began at ten in the morning and concluded at 4 or 5 in the afternoon.

We went fishing on weekends, and although we were under 18, we frequented the pool rooms and gambled a lot. The familiar community policeman never arrested us. Sports equipment was donated to us by the shop owners in the park area.

Bernard (1973) asserts that joint participation in associations and activities prevents alienation of ethnic groups from one another. Joint participation often decreases ethnic identity (and ethnocentrism). The families all had a common interest (their flourishing businesses) and the youngsters had their gangs. The families were interdependent with one another. Mutual trust, respect and understanding were always present. The greater the common interests, the more *gemeinschaft*.

Conclusion: The Death of Aala Park

In 1966, the Aala community was vacated and all the buildings were demolished for redevelopment. The

irony of this "redevelopment" lies in the fact that despite the clearance of slums and the appearance of a neat park in their place, a warm "we-feeling" community was destroyed. The park today is green and beautiful, but cold. Thus, as Aala Park was born in 1896, it died as a human community in 1966.

Epilogue

There is an elderly, hoary Japanese who still sells newspapers in front of the public bus stop at Aala Park. Though mute from an automobile accident that occurred before I was born, the vendor is reputed to be very wealthy and financially secure. He is, in fact, the sole surviving monument and reminder of what Aala Park used to be: a living community of interdependent human beings.

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